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THE  
POETICAL WORKS  
OF  
JOHN MILTON.



TO THE ILLUSTRIOUS MEMORY  
OF  
FRANCIS, DUKE OF BRIDGEWATER,  
TO WHOSE KINDNESS THESE VOLUMES  
OWE CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE,  
AND THE EDITOR OF THEM  
THE MOST HEART-FELT OBLIGATION,  
THIS EDITION OF MILTON'S POETICAL WORKS  
IS GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED.



# POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON,

WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED ILLUSTRATIONS,

AND

SOME ACCOUNT OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MILTON,

BY THE REV. HENRY J. TODD, M.A.F.A.S.

RECTOR OF ST. MARTIN'S VIALS, LOMBARD-STREET, &c.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS,

AND WITH

A VERBAL INDEX TO THE WHOLE OF MILTON'S POETRY,

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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## P R E F A C E

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THE PUBLICK is here presented with a complete edition of the Poetical Works of Milton, accompanied with notes of various authors.

To this undertaking I was invited, and encouraged, at the close of the year 1798. Without this previous declaration, I might have been accused of intrusion into the present office. Sensible that the task would have been better executed by many recent annotators on Milton, I would not indeed have listened to the unexpected application of engaging in an employment so important, if some literary friends had not promised their assistance. I therefore undertook to arrange my materials; and continued my inquiries till the close of the year 1799, when the edition began to be printed; at which time, nearly half a century had elapsed since the publication of the Poetical Works entire, with illustrations. And my attention to the progress and completion of the work in 1801, was constant and unwearied.

Of those criticks and annotators, whose observations were selected in 1749, &c. by Dr. Newton; as well as of those, with whose subsequent remarks the following pages are enriched; some account may be thought necessary.

The first annotator on the poet was Patrick Hume, a Scotchman. He published, in 1695, a copious commentary on the *Paradise Lost*; “\* to which some of his successors in the same province,” says Mr. Warton, “apprehending no danger of detection from

\* This is the Preface to my first edition of Milton's Poetical Works, with such alterations and additions, as on account of unintentional mistake or omission, new materials, and other circumstances, are requisite. H. J. T.

\* Preface to his edition of Milton's Smaller Poems.

a work rarely inspected, and too pedantick and cumbersome to attract many readers, have been often amply indebted, without even the most distant hint of acknowledgement." His illustrations in these volumes will be rarely found uninteresting. To him succeeded the elegant Addison, by whose "b blandishments of gentleness and facility, Milton has been made an universal favourite, with whom readers of every class think it necessary to be acquainted." His essays on the *Paradise Lost* are here printed as a Preliminary Dissertation; the remarks on each particular book not being detached from the general observations on the Poem, because the author himself was desirous that the reader should not neglect to view the "c whole extent of his criticism. By the same critick d *Comus* and e *L'Allegro* had been before commended. In 1732, Dr. Bentley published a splendid edition of the *Paradise Lost*, by which he acquired no honour. His specious pretences of an interpolated text, and his arbitrary method of emendation, were received with derision and disgust. Yet there are some notes, in the edition, which bespeak the unvitiated taste of this eminent scholar, and to which the classical reader will always thankfully subscribe. Immediately after the publication of this edition, the admirers of Milton were gratified by Dr. Pearce's masterly and candid refutation of the editor's chimerical corrections: And the *Review of the Text of Paradise Lost* furnished abundant annotations, at once instructive and delightful. In 1734, the two Richardsons published their *Expla-*

b Dr. Johnson's Life of Addison.

c See the Prolegomena in the second volume of this edition, p. 18. Dr. Johnson also wrote his Essay on Milton's Versification, in order to serve as a continuation of this criticism. See the Proleg. in the second vol. pp. 152, 156.

d Tatler, No. 98. Nov. 24, 1709.

e Spectator, No. 249. Dec. 15, 1711.

*natory Notes on the Paradise Lost.* Soon afterwards, Dr. Warburton communicated to the world some remarks upon the same poem. An *Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, said to be written by a gentleman of North Britain, whose name, it is believed, has not been divulged; the *Letters concerning poetical Translations*, ascribed to Auditor Benson; and the *Critical Observations on Shakspeare*, in which are interspersed remarks upon Milton, by Mr. Upton; were the next publications, from which Dr. Newton professes to have derived assistance. But, besides the flower of those which had been already published, he added many new observations both of others and his own. He was indebted, for several ingenious illustrations of *Paradise Lost* to his relation, Dr. Greenwood. He was also obliged by the use of Dr. Heylin's manuscript remarks on the same poem; which had been before communicated to Bentley, and of which the greater part (according to his account) had been disingenuously<sup>f</sup> adopted,

<sup>f</sup> "I cannot," if I may employ Milton's expressions, "think" Bentley "so to seek, or so unprincipled in" criticism's "book," as to be guilty of this meanness. I have been lately favoured, by the Rev. J. Mitford, (in whose possession this literary curiosity now is,) with the examination of Tonson's quarto edition of *Paradise Lost*, 1720, containing Bentley's alterations of the text, as well as various memoranda for notes. These are probably the *first* expressions and remarks of the great critick, in regard to the labour which he had undertaken. It may be acceptable to the curious reader, (and it is evident that they do not minutely accord with Bentley's edition,) if I present him with specimens from the beginning and end of the poem.

B. i. ver. 5. *sacred top.*

ver. 13. *adventurous wing.*

ver. 15. *I pursue.*

ver. 16. *verse*, (5, 15.) then *song.*

ver. 18. — *th' heart upright.* (221. 2, 72.)

ver. 26. — *to Man.*

ver. 28. *deep gulph.*

ver. 34. whose *wile.* (646. 9, 85. And note at the bottom, *Ephes.* vi. 11. *Wile, craft, guile, fraud.*)

by that critick, without acknowledgement. By the manuscript communications of Richardson, Jortin, and Warburton; and more particularly by those of the modest and liberal Mr. Thyer; his commentary on *Paradise Lost* was considerably enlarged. To the same learned coadjutors, with the addition of such respectable names as Sympsen, and Seward, the editors of Beaumont and Fletcher; of the Rev. Mr. Meadowcourt, Prebendary of Worcester; of the Rev. Mr. Calton of Lincolnshire; and of Mr. Peck, the antiquary; Dr. Newton's subsequent edition of *Paradise Regained*, *Samson Agonistes*, and the *Smaller Poems*, was also gratefully indebted.

In the year after the publication of Dr. Newton's edition of *Paradise Lost*, there was published at Glasgow the first Book of that poem with a large and very learned commentary; from which some notes are selected in this edition. They, who are acquainted with this commentary, will concur with me in wishing that the annotator had continued his ingenious and elaborate criticisms on the whole poem. That annotator, I find, was Mr. Callander. And since the publication of my first edition of these

B. i. ver. 36. *Thee mother, &c.*

ver. 39. *God's Son.* (5. 660. And at the bottom,  
*To place in glory above the Son of God.*)

ver. 46. *ruin and confusion.*

ver. 48. *circling.* (2. 647. And at the bottom,  
*Inchain'd with adamant rock and circling fire.*  
Also, over *circling* is written *solid*.)

B. xii. ver. 599. ——— *her first to know.*

ver. 603. ——— *with cause*

*Humbled for evils past —*

ver. 610. *Whither thou went'st, and whence return'st —*

ver. 643. *blade.* (592. xi. 120. And note below, *flaming sword.* Gen. i. 24.)

ver. 648. *Then ——— wearied, afterwards carefull,*  
*next social, and lastly*

———— *with social steps their way*

*Through Eden took, with hope and promise cheer'd.*  
*And for hope and promise is also given heav'nly favour.*

volumes, I have been favoured, by the learned Malcolm Laing, Esq. with a small interleaved Copy of *Paradise Lost*, containing memoranda of Mr. Callander for notes on the whole poem, and a few remarks completed.

In a letter from the late Mr. Mason to Doddsley, the bookseller, dated May 31, 1747, which was in the possession of my friend, the late Isaac Reed, Esq. an editorial intention is announced; which, though not accomplished, it may not be improper here to notice; as it coincides with the opinion of him, who has so ably illustrated the picturesque description, and romantick imagery, of the poems which Mr. Mason mentions; and to whose illustrations the editor must next express his obligations. "I could wish to know," says Mr. Mason, "whether Tonson or any other Bookseller has a property in the second volume of Milton. I have often thought it a great pity that many of the beautiful pieces it contains should be so little read as they certainly are. I fancy this has arisen from *the bad thing* they are tack'd to. I want vastly to have a separate edition of the *Tragedy, Mask, Lycidas, L'Allegro*, &c. And I fancy I shall some time or other undertake it myself; but, if you think that it would sell at present, I would willingly give you my assistance either for a preface, or notes, or any thing that should be thought necessary; and this merely for the sake of the incomparable poet, whom I am not content with having considered and praised as the Author of *Paradise Lost* alone."

What Mr. Mason might have intended, the late Mr. Warton effected. In 1785 the Publick was presented with *Lycidas, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Arcades, Comus, Odes, Sonnets*, &c. accompanied with Mr. Warton's critical and explanatory notes; of which a second edition, with many alterations and large additions, was published in 1791, soon after his lamented death: In whom Poetry and Antiquity lost

one of their most zealous votaries, Criticism one of its ablest assertors, Society one of its most agreeable members, and the University of Oxford one of her most valuable and most respected sons. Mr. Warton appears to have also planned an edition of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, by having omitted in the latter edition such notes as more immediately related to those poems, and which had appeared in the former edition; and by substituting merely references to the notes on those respective passages. The signatures to the sheets of his latter edition are numbered indeed *volume the first*. From both these editions, in which the names of Warburton, Hurd, Bowle, and Dr. Joseph Warton, often occur as annotators, the most valuable illustrations have been derived to the following pages. I have been also greatly obliged, since the publication of my first edition, to the Rev. John Warton, for the notes in manuscript, both of his father and uncle, on the *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*. They are indeed but few in number. Those of the latter appear to have been principally drawn from his first edition of the *Smaller Poems*, in subserviency to the plan just noticed. From Mr. Dunster's edition of *Paradise Regained*, published in 1795, a copious stock of judicious and elegant observations on that poem has been also here extracted. Of the numerous remarks, in manuscript, on *Paradise Lost* and on almost all the remaining *English Poems* of Milton, which Mr. Dunster consigned to the proprietors of this edition in 1805, and with the perusal of which I have been entrusted for the purpose of selecting such as I might consider suitable to my plan, I must likewise speak with pleasure, as well as with increased esteem of the worthy author. In the selection I have made, the candid reader will acknowledge many an ingenious and solid remark, evincing the taste and learning by which Mr. Dunster has ever been distinguished.

From modern works of critical eminence, relating to the English language and poetry; many notices have been likewise drawn; in particular, from the compositions of Lord Monboddo, Dr. Beattie, and Dr. Blair; from the late commentaries on Shakespeare; from Mr. Headley's Select Specimens of Ancient English Poetry; from the acute observations of Dr. Johnson and Mr. Hayley; and in short, if I may respectfully adopt the language of my predecessor, "like the bee, I have been studious of gathering sweets wherever I could find them." The Fragment of an intended *Commentary on Paradise Lost* by the poet Cowper, published by his friend Hayley, did not appear till long after the three Books, which that Commentary illustrates, were printed in this edition.

Contributions, however, have not been exacted, without references to the original treasures of the information adduced, or without the names of the authors subjoined. Of the notes in Dr. Newton's excellent edition of the *Paradise Lost*, few have been omitted, and some have been shortened; by which method I have been enabled to introduce, without too copious a commentary, the important observations of critics already enumerated, as well as of those who are yet to be named. Of the notes also in his edition of *Paradise Regained*, and the remaining *Poems*, several are retained. The labours of Mr. Warton and Mr. Dunster have rendered more perhaps unnecessary.

I must now acknowledge obligations, not perhaps less interesting or valuable, to manuscript communications, besides those already mentioned of Mr. Callander, the two Wartons, and Mr. Dunster.

To the late George Steevens, Esq. I was indebted for the interleaved copies of *Paradise Lost*, and of the *Smaller Poems* printed in 1673, with many manuscript remarks by the late Mr. Bowle;



after whose decease these volumes came into Mr. Steevens's hands; and, since the death of Mr. Steevens, have become my property. This singular kindness was conferred by Mr. Steevens at the commencement of this undertaking; not without a promise also of further assistance; which, unfortunately for the publick and for me, he lived not to afford.

To Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. the author of the very elegant Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy, and of other valuable publications, I have been likewise particularly obliged for many remarks, biographical as well as critical.

My sincerest thanks are also due to two distinguished prelates, whose amiable dispositions and unassuming abilities have met with their reward; the present bishops of Ely and Hereford. Dr. Dampier, on being made acquainted in 1800 by my very kind and zealous friend, Dr. Luxmoore, with this undertaking, obligingly transmitted to me an interleaved copy of *Paradise Lost*, with numerous manuscript notes, by that accomplished scholar, the late Benjamin Stillingfleet, Esq. They contain not only the chief classical allusions, which are found in Dr. Newton's edition; but references to, or citations of, various other passages subservient to the illustration of the poem. They had been put together about the year 1745, with a view to publication; but were left unfinished, from the apprehension that they would not make their way in opposition to Dr. Newton's edition, which was then announced under the patronage of Lord Bath. These particulars are gathered from several important letters of Mr. Stillingfleet to Dr. Dampier's father, formerly Dean of Durham; to whom he had presented his interleaved *Paradise Lost*. From one of these letters, entrusted to me also by Dr. Dampier, I selected the truly Miltonick Sonnet written by Mr. Stillingfleet, which I have printed in the *Preliminary Ob-*

*servations on the Sonnets*, in the sixth volume of this edition. It must be added, that the volume, containing the first six books of *Paradise Lost*, was nearly printed off, when I was honoured with these remarks. A selection, therefore, of Mr. Stillingfleet's notes on those books, has been given, duly acknowledged, at the close of *my first edition*, among other additions to the preceding volumes; and, in *the present*, these notes are in their respective places, with Mr. Stillingfleet's name subjoined.

To the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury I beg to mention my respectful obligations also for the use of manuscripts in their possession, which have contributed to the purposes of my edition.

But my gratitude can never be sufficiently expressed for the aids afforded me by the Library of the late Duke of Bridgewater. And as on a former occasion I had to thank his Grace for permission to print the manuscript *Mask of Comus*, obtained through the obliging application of the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Egerton; so was I gratified, through the same literary attention, by being allowed to print, on the occasion of my complete edition of Milton's poetry, the manuscript *Mask of Marston* performed before the Countess Dowager of Derby; and to make use of many rare and curious books, perhaps not to be found in other collections. To this liberal condescension I owe the opportunity of having introduced to publick notice the poems of some forgotten English bards, as well as other pieces of our ancient literature, hitherto overpassed by the most curious investigators. Nor, in recording this circumstance, will I lose the occasion of thanking the present head of this illustrious house; both in avowing that to the Earl of Bridgewater's kindness in introducing me to his family I have been primarily indebted for the distinguished favours I have stated, and that by his patronage I have

been benefited and honoured. The \* invaluable collection, from which I have derived such advantage, was removed in 1800 from his Grace's seat at Ashridge to Cleveland House, London; and at his death in 1803 became, by bequest, the property of his nephew, the present Marquis of Stafford, to whom as an ardent lover of literature, and an exquisite judge of what is serviceable to its interests, the donation has been most acceptable. To the present age the notification of such treasures will be highly acceptable; for, among its characteristics, a taste for relishing the strains of elder days is honourably conspicuous; to the encrease of which, the publication of Mr. Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Poetry* has, doubtless, powerfully contributed.

I have been fortunate also in obtaining other manuscript supplies of no mean import. To my friends, the liberal friends indeed to the literature of their country, the late Isaac Reed, Esq. and James Bindley, Esq. I have been obliged for many valuable suggestions, as well as for the favour of several scarce works in their choice and rich collections.

From the Rev. Mr. Boyd, the elegant translator of Dante, I have received, just as this edition was closing at the press, the very interesting *Observations on the Characters of the Fallen Angels of Milton*. The few communications of other gentlemen I have noticed in their respective places.

Having thus discharged my duty of grateful acknowledgement, I proceed to give the reader an account of what he is to expect further in the conduct of my edition.

\* I call it an invaluable collection, not only as it relates to literary treasures of the description just noticed, but also as possessing numerous rarities in various departments of literature. It is not my province here to give a larger account, however agreeable to myself the task might be, of Ashridge Library. I reserve it, as is meet, for my *History of the College of Ashridge* from its foundation to its demolition.

The chief purpose of my notes, is, in humble imitation of Mr. Warton, to "explain the allusions of Milton; to illustrate or to vindicate his beauties; to point out his imitations both of others, and of himself; to elucidate his obsolete diction; and, by the adduction and juxtaposition of parallels universally gleaned both from his poetry and prose, to ascertain his favourite words, and to show the peculiarities of his phraseology." Mr. Warton justly adds, that, "among the English poets, those readers who trust to preceding commentators will be led to believe, that Milton imitated Spenser and Shakspeare only. But his style, expression, and more extensive combinations of diction, together with many of his thoughts, are also to be traced in other English poets, who were either contemporaries or predecessors, and of whom many are now not commonly known. Nor have his imitations from Spenser and Shakspeare been hitherto sufficiently noticed." Of this it has been a part of my task, as it was of Mr. Warton, to produce proofs. The coincidences of "Fancy's sweetest children," Spenser, Shakspeare and Milton, are accordingly here enlarged. The obligations of our author to Dante, as well as to some other Italian poets, hitherto little noticed, are pointed out. The poet's imitations of himself are also considerably augmented. Nor have the romances and fabulous narratives, on which the poetry of Milton is often founded, been neglected. While I have not been sparing of classical illustration, I have constantly kept in mind the necessity of attention to the literature of Milton's age. Without this attention, as Mr. Warton remarks, "the force of many strikingly poetical passages has been weakened or unperceived, because their origin was unknown, unexplored, or misunderstood. Coeval books, which might clear such references, were therefore to be consulted; and a new line of commentary was to be pursued. Com-

paratively, the classical annotator has here but little to do. Dr. Newton, an excellent scholar, was unacquainted with the treasures of the Gothick library. From his more solid and rational studies, he never deviated into this idle track of reading." But, as Milton, at least in his early poems, may be reckoned an old English poet; and as in his later poetry allusions to the sources of fictions, with which he had been pleased in his youth, often appear; he generally requires that illustration, however trifling it may seem to fastidious readers, without which no old English poet can well be illustrated.

The arrangement of the materials in these volumes has been formed with a view to uniformity, and to the accommodation of the reader. The Table of General Contents will point out the order observed; the accompanying dissertations; and the appendixes subjoined.

Prefixed to this edition is a Verbal Index; not merely to the *Paradise Lost*, as in Dr. Newton's edition, but to *All the Poems* of our illustrious author, and <sup>h</sup> applicable to any edition of these Poems; to the laborious completion of which (in imitation of the editors of the Dauphin Classics) I have cheerfully submitted for the love and veneration with which I regard the strains of Milton, and for the respect which I owe my country in giving such useful references to the language of its sublimest bard. To the whole is also added a Glossarial Index. I think it proper to observe, that, in compliance with the wishes of several literary friends, the *Paradise Lost* has been placed first, in the following methodical disposition of the poetical works.

I have endeavoured to render the text as perspicuous as possible; not only by several illustrations

<sup>h</sup> A considerable impression of this Index, (with my Account of the Life and Writings of Milton,) has therefore been printed in a separate volume, for general accommodation.

of antiquated words, which, as Mr. Warton has observed, in a succession of editions had been gradually and silently, yet perhaps not always properly, refined; but also by comparing the copies published under the immediate notice or direction of Milton, as well as most subsequent editions; more particularly those of Tickell, Fenton, Bentley, and the later editors: as the notes will show. Nor should I here omit to mention, that Milton has not so uniformly contracted the words of his language, as to countenance the spelling of *isle*, of *honour*, of *inferiour*, of *mufick*, and several other words, with the omission of a letter in each. Milton's manuscript at Cambridge, and his own editions of his *Poems*, as well as of his *Paradise Lost*, will afford testimonies to this observation. The text of Milton must, indeed, exhibit some peculiarities. By such as are here retained, the meaning cannot be embarrassed. His love of Italian, of Chaucer, and of Spenser, requires this notice.

To the punctuation also, of which Milton has been pronounced by Mr. Warton to have been habitually careless, great attention has been paid. I conceived it my duty likewise to examine the manuscript, containing many of Milton's early poems, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and I found, on examination, several particularities which had been omitted by those who had before collated the manuscript, and which were too curious not to be noticed in my edition. To the end of the several poems, of which there are copies in the manuscript, these Various Readings are annexed. The reason is assigned in the *Appendix to Paradise Lost, No. I.*

I offered, with the utmost deference, in the first edition of these volumes, some Account of the Life and Writings of Milton; of which the materials were drawn from authentick sources. In this biographical

attempt some new anecdotes, relating to the history of Milton's friends, of his works, and of his times, were interwoven. To that Account additions are now made. These circumstances may perhaps plead, as some apology for my rashness, in affecting to sketch the poet, whom the masterly hands of a Johnson and an Hayley have depicted; a rashness, to which I was impelled by the persuasion of others, that, to a new edition of his Works, it is a custom to prefix the Life of the Author. To this custom indeed English biography has lately been indebted for a spirited acquisition; the Life of Milton, accompanying an edition of his Prose-Works, written by the Rev. Dr. Symmons; a composition, which, like those of Johnson and Hayley, opposes to my unadorned narration a very brilliant contrast. Cheerfully conceding the honour due to this work, I claim the liberty, however, of differing from the eloquent biographer in some political sentiments, and of refusing my assent to one or two of his assertions and literary opinions.

Such are the materials here accumulated, in order to explain the labours of Milton: of Milton, the proud boast of his own country, and the admiration of the world: of Milton, whose imitations of others are so generally adorned with new modes of sentiment or phraseology, that they lose the nature of borrowings, and display the skill and originality of a perfect master; and from whom succeeding poets, at various periods, have "stolen authentick fire."

I must not neglect to mention, that the proprietors have adorned this edition with a new and neat engraving of Milton from Faithorne's drawing. And I gratefully add, that it is enriched with an etching of part of Ludlow Castle, (in which *the Comus* of our poet was first performed,) from a view taken on the spot, which I received as a mark of friendship from the Marchioness of Stafford.

To the liberal and candid reader I commit these volumes with cheerfulness ; and I trust that I have not greatly exposed myself in them either to the insults of malicious ingenuity, or to the cavils of unforgiving bigotry. My errors, let me hope, will be overlooked in my endeavours to please and to inform ; and my labour, I am sure, is amply compensated in the consideration, that can cease only with my existence, of the delight afforded by minute attention to the poetry of Milton :

—— “ While I sit with thee, I seem in Heaven ;  
“ And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear  
“ Than fruits of palm-tree, pleasantest to thirst  
“ And hunger both, from labour, at the hour  
“ Of sweet repast ; they satiate, and soon fill,  
“ Though pleasant ; but thy words, with grace divine  
“ Imbued, bring to their sweetness no satiety.”

*Par. Lost*, B. viii. 210.

HENRY J. TODD.

LONDON, April 14, 1809.





SOME ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
LIFE AND WRITINGS  
OF  
MILTON.



**J**OHAN MILTON, son of John and Sarah Milton, was born on the 9th of December <sup>a</sup> 1608, at the house of his father, who was then an eminent scrivener in London, and lived at the sign of the Spread Eagle (which was the armorial ensign of the family) in Bread-street. The ancestry of the poet was highly respectable. His father was educated as a gentleman, and became a <sup>b</sup> member of Christ-Church, Oxford; in which society, as it may be presumed, he imbibed his attachment to the doctrines of the Reformation, and abjured the errors of Popery; in consequence of which, his father, who was a bigotted papist, disinherited him. The student therefore chose, for his support, the profession already mentioned; in the practice of which he became so successful as to be enabled to give his children the advantages of a polite education, and at length to retire with comfort into the country.

<sup>a</sup> "The xx<sup>th</sup> days of December 1608 was baptised John, the sonne of John Mylton, scrivener." *Extract from the Register of Allhallows, Bread-street.*

<sup>b</sup> See the first Note on Milton's Verses *Ad Patrem*.

The grandfather of the poet was under-ranger or keeper of the forest of Shotover, near Halton in Oxfordshire; and probably resided at the village of Milton in that neighbourhood, <sup>c</sup> where the family of Milton, in remoter times, were distinguished for their opulence; till, one of them having taken the unfortunate side in the civil wars of York and Lancaster, the estate was sequestered; and the proprietor was left with nothing but what he <sup>d</sup> held by his wife. There is a tradition <sup>e</sup> that the poet had once resided in this village, while he was Secretary to Cromwell.

The mother of Milton is said by <sup>f</sup> Wood, from Aubrey, to have been a Bradshaw; descended from a family of that name in Lancashire. Peck relates, that he was <sup>g</sup> informed she was a Haughton of Haughton-tower in the same county. But Phillips, her grandson, whose authority it is most reasonable to admit, <sup>h</sup> affirms, in his *Life of Milton*, that she was a Caston, of a genteel family derived originally from

In the Registers of Milton, as I have been obligingly informed by letter from the Rev. Mr. Jones, there are however no entries of the name of Milton. Phillips, Milton's nephew, says that the family resided at Milton near Abingdon in Oxfordshire, as appeared by the monuments then to be seen in Milton church. But that Milton is in Berkshire; and Dr. Newton searched in vain for the monuments said to exist in that church. The information of Wood is most probably correct, that they lived at Milton near Halton and Thame.

<sup>a</sup> Phillips's *Life of Milton*, 1694, p. iv.

<sup>c</sup> Communicated to me by letter from Milton.

<sup>f</sup> *Fasti Ox.* vol. i. p. 262, &c. chiefly taken, as Mr. Warton has observed, from Aubrey's manuscript *Life of Milton*, preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

<sup>g</sup> *Memoirs of Milton*, 1740, p. 1.

<sup>h</sup> *Life of Milton*, p. v.

Wales. Milton himself has <sup>1</sup> recorded, with becoming reference to the respectability of his descent, the great esteem in which she was held for her virtues, more particularly for her charity.

His father was particularly distinguished for his musical abilities. He is said to have been a <sup>\*</sup> voluminous composer, and equal in science, if not in genius, to the best musicians of his age. Sir John Hawkins and Dr. Burney, in their Histories of Musick, have each selected a specimen of his skill. He has been mentioned also by <sup>1</sup> Mr. Warton, as the author of *A sixe-fold Politician. Together with a sixe-fold precept of Policy. Lond. 1609.* But Mr. Hayley agrees with Dr. Farmer and Mr. Reed in assigning that work rather to John Melton, author of the *Astrologaster*, than to the father of our poet. Of his attachment to literature, however, the Latin verses of his son, addressed to him with no less elegance than gratitude, are an unequivocal proof. Perhaps it may again be confounding him with the author of the *Astrologaster*, in noticing the person who signs himself John Melton, citizen of London, at the close of a very indifferent Sonnet of fourteen lines, addressed to John Lane on his *Guy of Warwick*, which is preserved in the British Museum, and bears the date of licence for being printed in July 1617. This John Lane is the person whom Milton's nephew calls <sup>m</sup> "a

<sup>1</sup> Londini sum natus, genere honesto, patre viro integerrimo, matre probatissima, et eleemosynis per viciniam potissimum notus. *Defens. sec.* vol. iii. p. 95. edit. fol. 1698.

<sup>k</sup> Dr. Burney's Hist. of Musick, vol. iii. p. 134.

<sup>l</sup> See the Note on ver. 66. *Ad Patrem.*

<sup>m</sup> Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675. p. 111.

fine old queen Elizabeth gentleman, who was living within his remembrance," and of whose poems he gives a very flattering character. The Sonnet is entitled "*In Poëfis Laudem*," and is not worth citing. But a little poem, to which the musick of the elder Milton's Madrigal is adapted, (whethêr the poetical as well as the musical composition be his or not,) is given <sup>n</sup> below, on account of the circumstance which occasioned it, (that of flattering a maiden queen on the verge of seventy,) as a curiosity.

The care, with which Milton was educated, shows the ° discernment of his father. The bloom of genius was fondly noticed, and wisely encouraged. He was

<sup>n</sup> See the note on ver. 66. *Ad Patrem*. And Madrigales, viz. The Triumphes of Oriana, to 5 and 6 voices, composed by diuers severall authors. Newly published by Thomas Morley, Batcheler of Musick, &c. 4to. Lond. 1601.

For 6. Voices. Mad. XVIII.

Fayre Orian in the morne,  
 Before the day was borne,  
 With velvet steps on ground,  
 Which made nor print nor sound,  
 Would see hir nymphs abed,  
 What lives those ladies led:  
 The roses blushing fayd,  
 O stay thou shepherd's mayd:  
 And on a sodain all  
 They rose and heard hir call.  
 Then sang those shepherds and nymphs of Diana,  
 Long live faire Orianu !

The Annual Register of 1762 very erroneously refers to Milton's poem *Ad Patrem*, in order to support the following mistaken assertion: " Ariosto often lamented, as Ovid and Petrarch did before him, and our own Milton since, that his father banished him from the Muses." Characters, Life of Ariosto, p. 23. Milton's verses to his father prove exactly the reverse.

so happy, says Dr. Newton, as to share the advantages both of private and publick education. He was at first instructed, by private tuition, under <sup>p</sup> Thomas Young, whom Aubrey calls “ a puritan in Essex who cutt his haire short;” who, having quitted his country on account of his religious opinions, became Chaplain to the English merchants at Ham-  
burgh; but afterwards returned, and during the usurpation of Cromwell was master of Jesus College, Cambridge. Of the pupil’s affection for his early tutor, his fourth elegy, and two Latin epistles, are publick testimonies. Mr. Hayley considers the portrait of Milton by Cornelius Jansen, drawn when he was only ten years old, *at which age* Aubrey affirms “ *he was a poet,*” as having been executed in order to operate as a powerful incentive to the future exertion of the infant author. This supposition is very probable: And, as the portrait was drawn by a painter <sup>q</sup> then rising into fame, and whose price for a

<sup>p</sup> See the Notes at the beginning of Milton’s fourth *Elegy*. If Milton imbibed from this instructor, as Mr. Warton supposes, the principles of puritanism, it may be curious to remark that he never adopted from him the outward symbol of the sect. Milton preserved his “ clustering locks” throughout the reign of the *round-heads*. Wood, describing the *Seekers* who came to preach at Oxford in 1647, affords a proper commentary on Young’s *cutting his hair short*. “ The generality of them had mortified countenances, puling voices, and eyes commonly, when in discourse, lifted up, with hands lying on their breasts. They mostly had *short hair*, which at this time was commonly called the *Committee cut*, &c.” *Faith. Ox.* vol. ii. p. 61.

<sup>q</sup> Jansen’s first works in England are said to be dated about 1618; the year, in which the young poet’s portrait was drawn. See Walpole’s *Anecdotes of Painting, Works*, vol. iii. p. 149. edit, 1798.

## SOME ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE

“whose genius was equal to a subject that carried him beyond the limits of the world.”

Few readers will be inclined to admit that Cowley and other poets have surpassed, in “products of vernal fertility,” the efforts of Milton. Few will regard, without aversion, the unfair \* comparison of Milton’s juvenile effusions with those of Chatterton. Milton, as he is the most learned of modern poets, may perhaps retain his princely rank also in the list of those who have written valuable pieces at as early or an earlier age; and Politian, Tasso, Cowley, Metafasio, Voltaire, and Pope, may bow to him, “as to superior Spirits is due.”

In the 17th year of his age, distinguished as a classical scholar, and conversant in several languages, he was sent, from St. Paul’s School, to Cambridge; and was ′ admitted a Pensioner at Christ College on the 12th of February, 1624-5, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards Bishop of Cork and Ross in Ireland. Here he attracted particular notice by his academical exercises, as well as by several copies of verses, both Latin and English, upon occasional subjects. He neglected indeed no part of literature, although his chief object seems to have been the cultivation of his poetical abilities. “This good hap I had from a careful education,” he says; “to be inured and seasoned betimes with the best

In the Biograph, Brit. vol. iv. p. 591. edit. Kippis.

“Johannes Milton, Londinensis, filius Johannis, institutus fuit in Literarum elementis sub Mag<sup>ro</sup>. Gill, Gymnasii Paulini Præfecto, admissus est Pensionarius Minor Feb. 12<sup>o</sup>. 1624, sub M<sup>ro</sup>. Chappell, solvitque pro Ingr. 0. 10. 8.” *Extract from the College Register.*

and elegantest authors of the learned tongues ; and thereto brought an ear that could measure a just cadence, and scan without articulating ; rather nice and humourous in what was tolerable, than patient to read every drawling versifier."

To his eminent skill, at this time, in the Latin tongue Dr. Johnson affords his tribute of commendation. " Many of his elegies appear to have been written in his eighteenth year ; by which it appears that he had then read the Roman authors with nice discernment. I once heard Mr. Hampton, the translator of Polybius, remark, what I think is true, that Milton was the first Englishman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classic elegance." Milton's Latin exercises, which he recited publicly, are also marked with characteristic animation. From some remarkable passages in these, as Mr. Hayley observes, it appears " that he was first an object of partial severity, and afterwards of general admiration, in his college. He had differed in opinion concerning a plan of academical studies with some persons of authority in his College, and thus excited their displeasure. He speaks of them as highly incensed against him ; but expresses, with the most liberal sensibility, his surprise, delight, and gratitude, in finding that his enemies forgot their animosity to honour him with unexpected applause."

But incidents unfavourable to the character of Milton, while a student at Cambridge, have been positively asserted to be contained in his own words ; and the poet has been summoned to prove his own flagellation and banishment in the following verses, in his first elegy :



“ Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revifere Camum,

“ Nec dudum *vetiti* me *laris* angit amor.—

“ Nec duri libet ufque *minas* perferre Magiftri,

“ *Cæteraque ingenio non fubeunda meo.*”

“ Si fit hoc *exilium* patrias adiiffe penates,

“ Et vacuum curis otia grata fequi,

“ Non ego vel *profugi* nomen fortémve recuso,

“ *Lætus* et *exilii* conditione fruor.”

On thefe lines I muft introduce Mr. Warton’s obfervation.

“ The words *vetiti laris*, and afterwards *exilium*, will not fuffer us to determine otherwife, than that Milton was fentenced to undergo a temporary removal or rufication from Cambridge. I will not fuppose for any immoral irregularity. Dr. Bainbridge, the Mafter, is reported to have been a very active disciplinarian: and this lover of liberty, we may pre-fume, was as little difpofed to fubmiffion and conformity in a college as in a ftate. When reprimanded and admonifhed, the pride of his temper, impatient of any fort of reproof, naturally broke forth into expreffions of contumely and contempt againft his governour. Hence he was punifhed. He is alfo faid to have been whipped at Cambridge. See *Life of Bathurft*, p. 153. This has been reprobated and difcredited, as a moft extraordinary and improbable piece of feverity. But in thofe days of fimplicity and fubordination, of roughnefs and rigour, this fort of punifhment was much more common, and confequently by no means fo difgraceful and unfeemly for a young man at the univerfity, as it would be thought at prefent. We learn from Wood, that Henry Stubbe, a Student of Chrift Church, Oxford, afterwards a partifan of Sir Henry Vane, ‘ fhewing himfelf too forward, pragmatical, and conceited,’ was publicly whipped by the Cenfor in the college-hall. *Ath. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 560. See alfo *Life of Bathurft*, p. 202. I learn from fome manufcript papers of Aubrey the antiquary, who was a ftudent of Trinity college Oxford, four years from 1642, ‘ that at Oxford and, I believe, at Cambridge, the rod was frequently ufed by the

tutors and deans: and Dr. Potter, while a tutor of Trinity college, I knew right well, whipt his pupil with his sword by his side, when he came to take his leave of him to go to the inns of court.' In the Statutes of the said college, given in 1556, the Scholars of the foundation are ordered to be whipped by the Deans, or Censors, even to their twentieth year. In the University Statutes at Oxford, compiled in 1635, ten years after Milton's admission at Cambridge, corporal punishment is to be inflicted on boys under sixteen. We are to recollect, that Milton, when he went to Cambridge, was only a boy of fifteen<sup>2</sup>. The author of an old pamphlet, *Regicides no Saints nor Martyrs*, says that Hugh Peters, while at Trinity college, Cambridge, was publicly and officially whipped in the *Regent-walk* for his insolence, p. 81. 8vo.

"The anecdote of Milton's whipping at Cambridge, is told by Aubrey. *MS. Mus. Ashm. Oxon. Num. x. P. iii.* From which, by the way, Wood's *Life of Milton* in the *Fæsti Oxonienses*, the first and the ground-work of all the lives of Milton, was compiled. Wood says, that he draws his account of Milton 'from his own mouth to my Friend, who was well acquainted with and had from him, and from his relations after his death, most of this account of his life and writings following.' *Ath. Oxon. vol. i. Fæsti, p. 262.* This *Friend* is Aubrey; whom Wood, in another place, calls credulous, 'roving and magotie-headed, and sometimes little better than crazed.' *Life of A. Wood, p. 577. edit. Hearne, Th. Cæii Vind. &c. vol. ii.* This was after a quarrel. I know not that Aubrey is ever fantastical, except on the subjects of chemistry and ghosts. Nor do I remember that his veracity was ever impeached. I believe he had much less credulity than Wood. Aubrey's *Monumenta Britannica* is a very solid and rational work, and its judicious conjectures and observations have been approved and adopted by the best modern antiquaries. Aubrey's manuscript *Life* contains some anecdotes of Milton yet unpublished.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Warton is mistaken in this assertion. Milton, when he went to Cambridge, was in his seventeenth year. But this will presently be more largely considered.

“ But let us examine if the context will admit some other interpretation. *Cateraque*, the most indefinite and comprehensive of descriptions, may be thought to mean literary tasks called impositions, or frequent compulsive attendances on tedious and unimproving exercises in a college-hall. But *catera* follows *minas*, and *perferre* seems to imply somewhat more than these inconveniences, something that was *suffered*, and severely felt. It has been suggested, that his father's economy prevented his constant residence at Cambridge; and that this made the college *lar dudum vetitus*, and his absence from the university an *exilium*. But it was no unpleasing or involuntary banishment. He hated the place. He was not only offended at the college-discipline, but had even conceived a dislike to the face of the country, the fields about Cambridge. He peevishly complains, that the fields have no soft shades to attract the Muse; and there is something pointed in his exclamation, that Cambridge was a place quite incompatible with the votaries of Phœbus. Here a father's prohibition had nothing to do. He resolves, however, to forget all these disagreeable circumstances, and to return in due time. The dismissal, if any, was not to be perpetual. In these lines, *ingenium* is to be rendered temper, nature, disposition, rather than genius.

“ Aubrey says, from the information of our author's brother Christopher, that Milton's ‘ first tutor there [at Christ's college] was Mr. Chappell, from whom receiving some unkindness, (*he whipt him*) he was afterwards, though it seemed against the rules of the college, transferred to the tuition of one Mr. Tovell\*, who dyed parson of Lutterworth.’ MS. *Mus. Ashm.* ut sup. This information, which stands detached from the body of Aubrey's narrative, seems to have been communicated to Aubrey, after Wood had seen his papers; it therefore does not appear in Wood, who never would otherwise have suppressed an anecdote which contributed in the

\* It should be Tovey. I have seen the signature of his name to some resolutions of his college.

least degree to expose the character of Milton. I must here observe, that Mr. Chappell, from his original Letters, many of which I have seen, written while he was a fellow and tutor of Christ's College, and while Milton was there, and which are now in the possession of Mr. Moreton of Westerham in Kent, by whom they have been politely communicated, appears to have been a man of uncommon mildness and liberality of manners."

To the authority of the preceding remarks Dr. Johnson has implicitly subscribed; not without adding, however, that it may be conjectured, from the willingness with which the poet has perpetuated the memory of his exile, that its cause was such as gave him no shame.

That flagellation might be performed upon offenders at Cambridge, (as well as at Oxford,) the Statutes of that university will show: That Milton suffered this publick indignity, rests solely upon the testimony of Aubrey, which I am unable to controvert: But it is remarkable that it never should have been noticed by those who would have rejoiced in such an opportunity of exposing Milton to a little ridicule. Yet further. It is related by Mr. Warton, that, "in the University Statutes at Oxford, compiled in 1635, ten years after Milton's admission at Cambridge, corporal punishment is to be inflicted on boys *under sixteen*. We are to recollect, that Milton, when he went to Cambridge, was only a boy of *fifteen*." This is a mistake. Milton was in his *seventeenth*<sup>b</sup> year, when he was admitted at Christ's College. And if the same exemption was granted

<sup>b</sup> See the Extract from the College Register, p. 8.

to boys of *fixteen* at Cambridge, as to those of the same age at Oxford, the flagellation of Milton becomes still less entitled to credit. One of the statutes of Christ's College, entitled Cap. 37. *De Lectoris Autoritate in Discipulos*, seems to countenance the supposition of similar exemption: After prescribing that they, who absent themselves from certain Lectures, shall be *fined*, the Statute subjoins the following reservation; "*si tamen adultus fuerit; alioquin, virgâ corrigatur.*"

The application also of *cætera* may be perhaps more *general* than Mr. Warton and Dr. Johnson have been pleased to consider it; instead of corporal punishment, it may suggest the idea of academical restrictions, to which a youth of Milton's genius could not submit; or merely of threats perhaps, which he thought he did not deserve; and, if he therefore acquiesced in a short exile from Cambridge, as some biographers suppose, it should seem that, by his admission to the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1628, he had incurred no loss of terms; which, rustication however must have occasioned, and which the Register of his College, or of the University, would probably have noticed. His reply to an enemy, who in the violence of controversy had asserted that he was expelled, may here be cited. "I must be thought if this libeller (for now he shews himself to be so) can find belief, after an inordinate and riotous youth *spent at the University*, to have been at length *vomited out thence*. For which *commodious*

\* Apology for Smeætymnus. Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 174. edit. 1698.

lye, that he may be encouraged in the trade another time, I thank him; for it hath given me an apt occasion to acknowledge publickly, with all gratefull mind, that *more than ordinary favour and respect which I found above any of my equals* at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the fellows of the College wherein I spent some years; who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways, how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many letters, full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time, and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me." And still more pointedly in another place: "Pater me——*Cantabrigiam* misit: *Illic* disciplinis atque artibus tradi solitis septennium studui; *procul omni flagitio*, bonis omnibus probatus, usquedum magistri, quem vocant, gradum, &c."

To oblige one of the fellows, his friends so affectionately noticed, he wrote, in 1628, the comital verses, entitled *Naturam non pati senium*. 'I mention this in order to obviate a remark made by Dr. Johnson, that the poet countenanced an opinion, prevalent in his time, "that the world was in its decay, and that we had the misfortune to be produced in the decrepitude of nature." In the preceding year the following very learned work had been published, "An Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, by George Hakewill, D. D. and Archdeacon of Surrey, 1627." The young poet, I

conceive, had been much pleased with this excellent work, which refutes, with particular felicity of argument, the absurdity of supposing nature impaired. This forgotten folio has found an able advocate in modern days. "They," says Dr. Warton, "whom envy, malevolence, discontent, or disappointment, have induced to think, that the world is totally degenerated, and that it is daily growing worse and worse, would do well to read a sensible, but too much neglected, treatise of an old Divine, written in ' 1630, Hakewill's Apology &c." This work was commended by Archbishop <sup>s</sup> Usher. A truly amiable and learned author, it may here be added, to whom the literature of this country is peculiarly indebted, has closed his *Philological Inquiries* with a chapter, well calculated, like the animated lines of Milton, to banish the timid and unbenevolent idea of nature's decrepitude.

Milton was designed by his parents, and once in his own resolutions, for the Church. But his subsequent unwillingness to engage in the office of a minister was communicated to a friend in a letter; (of which two draughts exist in <sup>b</sup> manuscript;) with which he sent his impressive Sonnet, *On his being arrived at the age of twenty three*. The truth is,

\* Pope's Works, edit. 1797. vol. iv. p. 319.

<sup>f</sup> This is the *second* edition of the work, which Dr. Warton seems not to have known.

<sup>s</sup> See a Letter from Dr. Hakewill to Archbishop Usher, in the Life and Letters of Usher by R. Parr, D.D. fol. 1686. *Letters*, p. 398.

<sup>b</sup> See Birch's Life of Milton, Dr. Newton's edit. of Milton, Sonnet vii. General Dictionary, 1738, vol. vii. And Biograph. Brit. 1760, vol. v. Art. *Milton*, where they are printed.

says Dr. Newton, he had conceived early prejudices against the doctrine and discipline of the Church. This, no doubt, was a disappointment to his friends, who though in comfortable were yet by no means in great circumstances. Nor does he seem to have been disposed to any profession. It is certain that he also declined the <sup>1</sup> Law. He had probably read, with no slight attention, the conduct of Tasso, as described by the noble biographer to whom he has addressed his admired eclogue :

“ \* Il qual poema [il Rinaldo] mandò egli fuori per voler del Cardinal Luigi da Este ; e con poco piacer di suo padre ; il quale non haurebbe ciò per due ragioni desiderato. Primieramente percioche Bernardo non rimaneua appagato, che l'animo del giouanetto s'appigliasse alla piacevolezza della poesia, perche non deuiaffe (come aduienne) dallo studio delle leggi dal qual' egli speraua maggiori comodi con l'effempio in contrario di se medesimo, che per molto, e per bene c' hauesse, & in versi, & in prosa saputo scriuere, non potette giammai però auanzare la mezzanità della sua fortuna ne diten-derfi dalla rea : nella qual cosa malageuolmente l'Orquato l'obediua, tirato altroue dal proprio genio, come ne' versi che seguono dietro a que' che detti habbiamo, si legge :

Ad altri studi, onde poi speme hauea  
Di ristorar d'auuersa sorte i danni,

<sup>1</sup> His contempt of the Law, as well as of the Church, is pretty strongly marked. See the Note *Ad Patrem*, ver. 71. To the ecclesiastical lawyers he has shown no mercy ; but alludes to “ chancellours and suffragans, delegates and officials, with all the *hell-pestering* rabble of sumners and apparitors,” in the very spirit of Quevedo. See his *Animadversions*, &c. Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 159. edit. 1698.

\* Vita di Torq. Tasso, scritta da G. B. Manfo, 12<sup>mo</sup> Venet. 1621, p. 32, 33.



Ingrati ſtudi, dal cui pondo oppreſſo,  
 Giaccio ignoto ad altrui graue à me ſteſſo."

Rinaldo, Canto 12. ſt. 90.

Dr. Newton thinks that he had too free a ſpirit to be limited and confined ; that he was for comprehending all ſciences, but profeſſing none. His conduct, however, on theſe occaſions is a proof of the ſincerity with which he had reſolved to deliver his ſentiments. <sup>1</sup> " For me, I have determined to lay up as the beſt treaſure and ſolace of a good old age, if God vouchſafe it me, the honeſt liberty of free ſpeech from my youth."

Having taken the degree of <sup>m</sup> M. A. in 1632, he left the univerſity, and retired to his father's houſe in the country ; who had now quitted buſineſs, and lived at an eſtate which he had purchaſed at Horton near Colnebrooke, in Buckinghamſhire. Here he reſided five years ; in which time he not only, as he himſelf informs us, read over the Greek and Latin authors, particularly the hiſtorians, but is alſo believed to have written his *Arcades*, *Comus*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penſeroſo*, and *Lycidas*. The pleaſant retreat in the country excited his moſt poetick feelings ; and he has proved himſelf able, in his pictures of rural life, to rival the works of Nature which he contemplated with delight. In the neighbourhood of Horton the Counteſs Dowager of Derby reſided ; and the *Arcades* was performed by her grand-children at this feat, called Harefield-place. It ſeems to me, that

<sup>1</sup> Proſe-Works, vol. i. p. 220. edit. 1698.

<sup>m</sup> He was admitted to the ſame degree at Oxford in 1635. See Wood, Faſti, vol. i. p. 262.

Milton intended a compliment to his fair neighbour, (for <sup>a</sup> fair she was,) in his *L'Allegro* :

“ Towers and battlements it sees  
 “ Bosom'd high in tufted trees,  
 “ Where perhaps some Beauty lies,  
 “ The Cynosure of neighbouring eyes.”

The woody scenery of ° Harefield, and the personal accomplishments of the Countess, are not unfavourable to this supposition ; which, if admitted, tends to confirm the opinion, that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* were composed at Horton.

The Mask of *Comus*, and *Lycidas*, were certainly produced under the roof of his father. It may be observed that, after his retirement to private study, he paid great attention, like his master Spenser, to the Italian school of poetry. Dr. Johnson observes, that his acquaintance with the Italian writers may be discovered by the mixture of longer and shorter verses in *Lycidas*, according to the rules of Tuscan poetry.” In *Comus* also the sweet rhythm and cadence of the Italian language are no less observable. I must here observe that the house, in which Milton drew such enchanting scenes, was about <sup>p</sup> ten years since pulled down ; and that, during his residence at Horton, he had occasionally taken lodgings in London, in order to cultivate musick and mathematicks, to meet his friends from Cambridge, and to indulge his passion for books.

<sup>a</sup> See the preliminary Notes to *Arcades*, and also the poem, ver. 14, &c.

° See Lysons's *Middlesex*, 1800. *Harefield*, p. 108.

<sup>p</sup> As I have been obligingly informed by letter from the present Rector of Horton.

It seems to have been the notion, however, of the late Sir William Jones, that we are indebted, not to Horton, but to Forest Hill, for Milton's descriptive pictures of the country. That accomplished scholar has thus delivered his opinion in a letter to Lady Spencer, dated from Oxford, 7. Sept. 1769.

" 9 The necessary trouble of correcting the first printed sheets of my history, prevented me to-day from paying a proper respect to the memory of Shakspeare, by attending his jubilee. But I was resolved to do all the honour in my power to as great a poet; and set out in the morning in company with a friend to visit a place, where Milton spent some part of his life, *and where, in all probability, he composed several of his earliest productions.* It is a small village on a pleasant hill, about three miles from Oxford, called Forest Hill, because it formerly lay contiguous to a forest, which has since been cut down. The poet chose this place of retirement after his first marriage, and he describes the beauties of his retreat, in that fine passage of his *L'Allegro* .

Sometime walking, not unseen,  
By hedge-row elms, on hillocks green,—  
While the plowman near at hand,  
Whistles o'er the furrow'd land,  
And the milk-maid singeth blithe,  
And the mower whets his scythe.  
And every shepherd tells his tale  
Under the hawthorn in the dale.  
Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures,  
Whilst the landscape round it measures;  
Russet lawns, and fallows gray,  
Where the nibbling flocks do stray;  
Mountains, on whose barren breast  
The labouring clouds do often rest;

\* Lord Teignmouth's Life of Sir William Jones, 8vo. edit. p. 83.

Meadows trim with daisies pide,  
 Shallow brooks, and rivers wide :  
 Towers and battlements it sees  
 Bosom'd high in tufted trees—  
 Hard by, a cottage chimney smoaks,  
 From betwixt two aged oaks, &c.

“ It was neither the proper season of the year, nor time of the day, to hear all the rural sounds, and see all the objects mentioned in this description ; but, by a pleasing concurrence of circumstances, we were saluted, on our approach to the village, with the music of the mower and his scythe ; we saw the ploughman intent upon his labour, and the milkmaid returning from her country employment.

“ As we ascended the hill, the variety of beautiful objects, the agreeable stillness and natural simplicity of the whole scene, gave us the highest pleasure. We at length reached the spot, *whence Milton undoubtedly took most of his images* ; it is on the top of the hill, from which there is a most extensive prospect on all sides : the distant mountains that seemed to support the clouds, the villages and turrets, partly shaded with trees of the finest verdure, and partly raised above the groves that surrounded them, the dark plains and meadows of a greyish colour, where the sheep were feeding at large, in short, the view of the streams and rivers, convinced us that there was not a single useless or idle word in the above-mentioned description, but that it was a most exact and lively representation of nature. Thus will this fine passage, which has always been admired for its elegance, receive an additional beauty from its exactness. After we had walked, with a kind of poetical enthusiasm, over this enchanted ground, we returned to the village.

“ The poet's house was close to the church ; the greatest part of it has been pulled down ; and what remains, belongs to an adjacent farm. I am informed that several papers in Milton's own hand, were found by the gentleman who was last in possession of the estate. The tradition of his having lived there is current among the villagers : one of them

shewed us a ruinous wall that made part of his chamber, and I was much pleased with another who had forgotten the name of Milton, but recollected him by the title of The Poet.

“ It muſt not be omitted, that the groves near this village are famous for nightingales, which are ſo elegantly deſcribed in the *Penſeroſo*. Moſt of the cottage windows are overgrown with ſweet-briars, vines, and honey-ſuckles; and, that Milton’s habitation had the ſame ruſtick ornament, we may conclude from his deſcription of the lark bidding him good-morrow,

Through the ſweet-briar or the vine,  
Or the twiſted eglantine :

for it is evident, that he meant a ſort of honey-ſuckle by the eglantine; though that word is commonly uſed for the ſweet-briar, which he could not mention twice in the ſame couplet.

“ If ever I paſs a month or ſix weeks at Oxford in the ſummer, I ſhall be inclined to hire and repair this venerable manſion, and to make a feſtival for a circle of friends, in honour of Milton, the moſt perfect ſcholar, as well as the ſublimeſt poet, that our country ever produced. Such an honour will be leſs ſplendid, but more ſincere and reſpectful, than all the pomp and ceremony on the banks of the Avon.

“ I have the honour, &c.”

That Milton reſided at Foreſt Hill, I am ready to admit; but at periods, I conceive, far diſtant from the compoſition of *L’Allegro* and *Il Penſeroſo*. The tradition that he did reſide at this beautiful and beautifully deſcribed village, is indeed <sup>r</sup> general;

<sup>r</sup> Madame du Bocage, in her entertaining *Letters concerning England*, &c. relates that, viſiting, in June 1750, Baron Schutz and Lady at their houſe near Shotover Hill, “ they ſhewed me from a ſmall eminence *Milton’s houſe*, to which I bowed with all the reverence with which that poet’s memory inſpires me.”

though none of his biographers assert the circumstance. But Sir William Jones represents him to have chosen this place of retirement, *after his first marriage*. Now Milton, we find, was not married before 1643, at which time he was in his thirty-fifth year; when, about Whitsuntide or a little after, "he 'took a journey," says his nephew Phillips, "into the country; nobody about him certainly knowing the reason, or that it was more than a journey of recreation: after a month's stay, home he returns a married man that went out a bachelor; his wife being Mary, the eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, then a justice of peace, of *Foresthil*, near Shotover, in Oxfordshire." Anthony Wood relates also, that Milton courted, married, and brought his wife to his house in London, *in one month's time*; and that she was very young. She continued, however, but a few weeks with her husband, and returned to Forest Hill. Milton, as we shall presently see, disdained to follow her thither. But, after their reconciliation, it is probable that they were allowed by her father, who, I am 'informed, possessed another mansion in the neighbourhood, the occasional occupation of this retreat. Or, after the seizure of it by the rebels in 1646, Milton, we may easily believe, possessed sufficient interest to obtain the restitution of it to his father-in-law, (whose affairs he is indeed said "to have accommodated with the ruling party, and who is supposed to have quitted in 1647 the protection which Milton's house afforded him in London,) from whom he might subsequently receive a

\* Life of Milton, p. xxii.

\* By T. B. Richards, Esq. whose intelligence is presently given.

\* See Fenton's narration in a subsequent page.

grant of it. However, this concedes nothing to the assertion of *L'Allegro* being composed at Forest Hill. No. The early poems of Milton were written, I apprehend, long before the date of his first marriage; and, as I have \* already stated, most probably at Horton; a point in which Mr. Hayley concurs with me, at least in respect to *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. In the collection of these poems into a volume, which was published by Moseley in 1645, and of which more will presently be said, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* precede both *Lycidas* and *Comus* in the arrangement; both of which refer to matters of a much earlier date than 1640. But, not to insist on this circumstance, Moseley in his Address to the Reader, says, " 'The author's more peculiar excellency in these studies was too well known to conceal his papers, or to keep me from attempting to solicit them from him.' " So that Milton, we see, had concealed these papers, till he was solicited to permit them, with *Lycidas* and *Comus* already printed, to appear in one volume. I must observe also that Milton tells his friend Rouse, in presenting to him this collection of his poems, that they were the productions of his <sup>z</sup> early youth.

Milton, however, might compose at Forest Hill part of his *later productions*. Mr. Warton has asserted

\* See before, pp. 18, 19, and my Preliminary Notes to *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*.

† Milton's Poems, ed. 1645, 12<sup>mo</sup> sign. a. 4.

z " Gemelle cultu simplici gaudens liber,

" Fronde licet geminâ,

" Munditieque nitens non operosâ;

" Quem manus attulit

" Juvenis olim,

" Sedula tamen haud nimii poetæ, &c."

that he did. I mention this on the authority of a <sup>a</sup> gentleman, whose information indeed will highly interest our curiosity, but at the same time excite our sorrow.

“ Milton married a daughter of Justice Powell, (of Sandford in the vicinity of Oxford,) and lived in a house at Forest Hill, about three miles from Sandford; where, the late laureate Warton told me, Milton wrote a great part of his *Paradise Lost*. Warton found a number of papers of Milton's own writing in that house, and also many of Justice <sup>b</sup> Powell's; which the late Mr. Crewe (father to the late Viscountess Falmouth) permitted him to take, and make what use of them he thought proper. The late Mr. Mickle translated part of Camoens's *Lusiad* in the same house, he being at the time I visited him a lodger in that house. Mr. Mickle married the daughter of Mr. Tomkins a farmer, the tenant to Mr. Crewe. The time I allude to of visiting my worthy friend Mickle was in 1772 and 1773. And my conversations, had with Mr. Warton and Mr. Crewe, were from 1781 to 1786.”

Our sorrow cannot but be excited, when it is added that of Milton's papers no regular account appears to have been taken, and no description has been given. The <sup>c</sup> biographers of Warton and Mickle will be consulted in vain on this subject.

A pretended romantick circumstance in Milton's younger days has been publickly mentioned, which has been supposed to have formed the first impulse of his Italian journey. In the General Evening Post

<sup>a</sup> Thomas B. Richards, Esq. One of the Sub-Commissioners under the present Record Commission for England.

<sup>b</sup> See Mr. Warton's Notes on the Nuncupative Will of Milton, subjoined to this account of the Life and Writings of the poet.

<sup>c</sup> The Rev. R. Mant's Life of T. Warton, and the Rev. J. Sim's Life of W. J. Mickle, prefixed to the Poetical Works of those authors.



in the Spring of 1789 it is supposed to have appeared; in which, or in any other journal, however, I had not been so fortunate, before the first edition of this account was published, as to discover it. The anecdote has since been obligingly transmitted to me, exactly as it appeared in a News-paper, (the Italian citation only being here corrected,) of which the date does not appear; and for which I am indebted, through my friend Mr. Bindley, to M. Whish, Esq.

“ Believing that the following real circumstance has been but little noticed, we submit the particulars of it, as not uninteresting, to the attention of our readers:—It is well known that, in the bloom of youth, and when he pursued his studies at Cambridge, this poet was extremely beautiful. Wandering, one day, during the summer, far beyond the precincts of the University, into the country, he became so heated and fatigued, that, reclining himself at the foot of a tree to rest, he shortly fell asleep. Before he awoke, two ladies, who were foreigners, passed by in a carriage. Agreeably astonished at the loveliness of his appearance, they alighted, and having admired him (as they thought) unperceived, for some time, the youngest; who was very handsome, drew a pencil from her pocket, and having written some lines upon a piece of paper, put it with her trembling hand into his own. Immediately afterwards they proceeded on their journey. Some of his acquaintances, who were in search of him, had observed this silent adventure, but at too great a distance to discover that the highly-favoured party in it was our illustrious bard. Approaching nearer, they saw their friend, to whom, being awakened, they mentioned what had happened. Milton opened the paper, and, with surprize, read these verses from Guarini: [Madrigal. xii. ed. 1598.]

“ *Occhi, stelle mortali,*

“ *Ministre de miei mali,—*

“ *Se chiusi m’ uccidete,*

“ *Aperti che farete?*”

"Ye eyes! ye human stars! ye authors of my liveliest pangs! If thus, when shut, ye wound me, what must have proved the consequence had ye been open?" Eager, from this moment, to find out the fair *incognita*, Milton travelled, but in vain, through every part of Italy. His poetick fervour became incessantly more and more heated by the idea which he had formed of his unknown admirer; and it is, in some degree, to *her* that his own times, the present times, and the latest posterity must feel themselves indebted for several of the most impassioned and charming compositions of the *Paradise Lost*."

The preceding highly coloured relation, however, is not singular. My friend Mr. Walker points out to me a counterpart in the following Extract from the Preface to *Poésies de Marguerite-Eleanore Clotilde, depuis Madame de Surville, Poëte François du XV. Siècle.* Paris, 1803.

"Justine de Lévis se promenoit dans une forêt avec deux de ses parentes; elles apperçurent un jeune chevalier endormi. Sa beauté frappe les trois jeunes amies; Justine surtout en reçut une impression qui ne s'effaça jamais. Elle ne put s'empêcher de déposer ses tablettes auprès du bel inconnu, après y avoir écrit *quatre vers Italiens* qui fermoient une espece de déclaration: elle s'éloigna ensuite avec ses compagnes. On peut juger de l'étonnement du chevalier lorsqu' à son réveil il trouva ces tablettes et lut ce qu'elles contenoient. Louis de Puytendre (c'étoit son nom) ne s'occupa plus que de la recherche de l'inconnue: il parcourut inutilement l'Italie entière; il eut diverses aventures, &c."

Though credence will hardly be granted to the anecdote respecting Milton, obligation is due to him who published it; inasmuch as the publication occasioned it to be clothed in the following elegant dress:

In sultry noon when youthful MILTON lay  
Supinely stretch'd beneath the poplar shade,  
Lur'd by his Form, a fair Italian Maid  
Steals from her loitering chariot to survey

The slumbering charms, that all her soul betray.  
 Then, as coy fears th' admiring gaze upbraid,  
 Starts ;—and these lines, with hurried pen pourtray'd,  
 Slides in his half-clos'd hand ;—and speeds away.—  
 Ye eyes, ye human stars !—if, thus conceal'd  
 By sleep's soft veil, ye agitate my heart,  
 Ah ! what had been its conflict if reveal'd  
 Your rays had shone !—Bright Nymph, thy strains impart  
 Hopes, that impel the graceful Bard to rove,  
 Seeking through Tuscan Vales his visionary Love.  
 He found her not ;—yet much the Poet found,  
 To swell imagination's golden store,  
 On Arno's bank, and on that bloomy shore,  
 Warbling Parthenope ; in the wide bound,  
 Where Rome's forlorn Campania stretches round  
 Her ruin'd towers and temples ;—classick lore  
 Breathing sublimer spirit from the power  
 Of local consciousness —Thrice happy wound,  
 Given by his sleeping graces, as the Fair,  
 Hung over them enamour'd, the desire  
 Thy fond result inspir'd, that wing'd him there,  
 Where breath'd each Roman and each Tuscan lyre,  
 Might haply fan the emulative flame,  
 That rose o'er DANTE's song, and rivall'd MARO's fame !

*Original Sonnets, &c. by Anna Seward, 1799, p. 76.*

On the death of his mother in 1637, he prevailed  
 with his father to permit him to visit the continent.  
 This permission Mr. Hayley supposes to have been  
 “ the more readily granted, as one of his motives  
 for visiting Italy was to form a collection of Italian  
 musick.” His nephew Phillips indeed relates, that,  
 while at Venice, he shipped a parcel of curious and  
 rare books which he had collected in his travels ;  
 particularly a chest or two of choice musick-books of  
 the best masters flourishing about that time in Italy.  
 Having obtained some directions for his travels from

Sir Henry Wotton, to whom he had communicated his <sup>d</sup> earnest desire of seeing foreign countries, he went in 1638, attended with a single servant, to Paris; where, by the favour of Lord Scudamore, he was introduced to Grotius. Of this interview, although the numerous letters of Grotius afford no trace, Milton's nephew gives the following account; Grotius took the visit kindly, and gave him entertainment suitable to his worth and the high commendations he had heard of him.

Having been presented, by Lord Scudamore, with letters of recommendation to the English merchants in the several places through which he intended to travel, he went, after staying a few days in Paris, directly to Nice, where he embarked for Genoa. From Genoa he proceeded to Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence. The delights of Florence detained him there two months. His compositions and conversation were so much admired, that he was a most welcome guest in the academies, (as in Italy the meetings of the most polite and ingenious persons are denominated,) held in that city. He has affectionately recorded the <sup>e</sup> names of these Italian friends;

<sup>d</sup> See Sir Henry Wotton's Letter to him, and the Notes prefixed to *Comus* in this edition.

<sup>e</sup> "Tui enim Jacobe Gaddi, Carole Dati, Frescobalde, Culltelline, Bonmatthæe, Clementille, Francine, aliorumque plurium memoriam apud me semper gratam, atque jucundam, nulla dies delebit." *Defens. sec. Prose-Works*, vol. iii. p. 96. edit. 1698. It is to one of these friends that he professes his love of the Italian language. "Ego certè istis utrisque linguis [Greek and Latin] non extremis tantummodò labris madidus; sed, siquis alius, quantum per annos licuit, poculis majoribus prolutus, possum tamen nonnunquam ad illum *Dantem*, et *Petrarcam*, aliosque

and has expressed his obligations to their honourable distinctions. Dati <sup>f</sup> presented him with a Latin eulogy; and Francini with an Italian ode. A few years since, Mr. Brand accidentally discovered on a book-stall, a manuscript which he purchased, entitled *La Tina*, by Antonio Malatesti, not yet enumerated, says <sup>e</sup> Mr. Warton, among Milton's friends. It is dedicated by the author to John Milton while at Florence. Mr. Brand gave it to Mr. Hollis, who, in 1758, sent it together with Milton's works, both in poetry and prose, and his Life by Toland, to the Academy Della Crusca. The manuscript, as Mr. Warton observes, would have been a greater curiosity in England. Milton became acquainted also with the celebrated Galileo, whom many biographers have represented as in prison when the poet visited him. But Mr. Walker has informed me that Galileo was never a prisoner *in* the inquisition at Florence, although a prisoner *of* it. On his arrival at Rome on February the 10th, 1632, that illustrious philosopher had surrendered himself to Urban, who ordered him to be confined for his philosophical heresy in the

*vestros complusculos, libentè et cupidè comessatum ire."* Epist. B. *Bommathæo*. Prose-Works, vol. iii. p. 325. ed. 1698.

<sup>f</sup> Rolli has made the following remark on the commendatory notices of his countrymen. "Osservissi nelle lodi dagl' Italiani date a questo grand Uomo; com' essi fin d' allora scorgevano in lui l' alta forza d' Ingegno che lo portava al primo Augè di gloria letteraria nel suo Secolo e nella sua Nazione; e gliene facevano gli avverati Prognostici." Vita di Milton, 1735. Dennis pays much compliment to the discernment of the Italians who discovered, while Milton was among them, his great and growing genius. See his Original Letters, &c. 1721, vol. i. p. 78, 80.

<sup>e</sup> Milton's Smaller Poems, 2d edit. p. 555. But Milton mentions this friend in a letter to Carlo Dati, Epist. Fam. x.

palace of the Trinità de' Monti. Here he remained five months. Having retracted his opinion, he was dismissed from Rome; and the house of Monsignor Piccolomini in Sienna was assigned to him as his prison. About the beginning of December, in 1633, he was liberated; and returned to the village of Belloguardo near Florence, whence he went to Arcetri, where, it is probable, he received the visit of the English bard. Milton himself has informed us that he had really seen Galileo; and Rolli, in his *Life of the poet*,<sup>h</sup> considers some ideas in the *Paradise Lost*, approaching towards the Newtonian philosophy, to have been caught at Florence from Galileo or his disciples.

From Florence he passed through Sienna to Rome, where he also stayed two months; feasting, as Dr. Newton well observes, both his eyes and his mind, and delighted with the fine paintings, and sculptures, and other rarities and antiquities, of the city. It has been judiciously conjectured, that several of the immortal works of the finest painters and statuaries may be traced in Milton's poetry. They are supposed by Mr. Hayley to have had considerable influence in attaching his imagination to our first parents. "He had most probably contemplated them," the elegant writer continues, "not only in the colours of Michael Angelo, who decorated Rome with his picture of the creation, but in the marble of Bandinelli, who had executed two large statues of Adam and Eve, which, though they were far from satisfying the taste of con-

<sup>h</sup> "In Firenze certamente egli apprese dagli Scritti e dalle Massime del Galileo invalorite già ne' di lui Seguaci, quelle Nozioni filosofiche sparse poi nel Poema, che tanto si uniformano al Sistema del Cavalier Newton." Vita, &c. 1735.

noisseurs, might stimulate even by their imperfections the genius of a poet." The description of the creation in the third book of *Paradise Lost*, (ver. 708, 719,) is supposed by <sup>1</sup> Mr. Walker to be copied from the same subject as treated by Raphael in the gallery of the Vatican, called "la Bibbia di Raffaello." There are indeed several interesting pictures relating to Adam and Eve in the Florence collection, together with "the fall of Lucifer" supposed to be the work of Michael Angelo, which Milton might have also seen. Mr. Dunster ingeniously <sup>k</sup> conjectures the *Paradise Regained* to have been enriched by the suggestions of Salvator Rosa's masterly painting of *The Temptation*. The genius of Milton seems indeed to have resembled more particularly that of Michael Angelo. It is worthy of notice, as it shows a strong coincidence of taste in the poet and the painter, that Michael Angelo was particularly struck with Dante; and that he is said to have <sup>l</sup> sketched with a pen, on the margin of his copy of the *Inferno*, every striking scene of the terrible and the pathetick; but this valuable curiosity was unfortunately lost in a shipwreck. The learned author of "Tableaux tirés de l'Iliade, de l'Odyssée d'Homere, et de l'Eneide de Virgile," was never more mistaken than in supposing the *Paradise Lost* incapable of supplying an artist with scenes as graceful and sublime as can be met with in the poems of the Grecian and Roman bards: for, in the words of Mr. Hayley, there is no charm exhibited by painting, which Milton's poetry has failed to equal,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Mem. on Italian Tragedy, p. 166.

<sup>k</sup> Addition to his edit. of *Par. Reg.* 1800.

<sup>l</sup> See "A Sketch of the Lives and Writings of Dante and Petrarch, 1790." p. 31.

as far as analogy between the different arts can extend. Indeed the numerous exercises for the painter's skill, which Milton's works afford, have, in later times, commanded due attention; and Fuseli, by his happy sketches from such originals, has taught us how to admire poetry and painting "breathing *united force*."

At Rome Milton was honoured with the acquaintance of several learned men, more especially with that of Holstenius, keeper of the Vatican library. By him he was introduced to Cardinal Barberini, the "patron Cardinal of the English; who, at an "entertainment of musick, performed at his own ex-

"I learn from the manuscript of Dr. Bargrave, (preserved in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral,) of which an ample account is given in my Note on Milton's Epigram to Christina, Queen of Sweden, that, "at Rome, every forraigne Nation hath some Cardinall or other to be their *peculiar Gardian*: when I was 4 severall times at Rome," says Dr. Bargrave, "this Cardinall Barberini was *Gardian to the English*." He adds, "When I was at Rome with the Earle of Chesterfield, then under my tuition, 1650, at a yeare of Jubile, this Cardinall (formerly kinde to me) would not admitt my lord or myselfe to any audience, though, in eleuen months time, tryed severall times: and I heard that it was, because that we had recommendatory letters from our Queen Mother to Cardinall Capponius, and another from the Dutches of Sauoy to Cardinall Penzirolo; and no letters to him, *who was the English (I say REBELLS) Protector*; and that we visited them before him."

"See the notes on Milton's poem, *Ad Leonoram Romæ canentem*; in the first of which, it is related by Mr. Warton that Milton heard the accomplished Leonora Baroni sing at the concerts of this Cardinal, and that there is a volume of Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish poems, printed at Rome, in praise of this lady. I have sought in vain for this curious volume; as have two or three literary friends, both abroad and at home. I must observe however that this book is described, in the Barberini collection, as printed at *Bracciano*. Index Bib. Barberin. fol. 1681. tom. i. p. 114.



pence, waited for him at the door, and condescended to lead him into the assembly. Milton did not forget the extraordinary civilities of this accomplished Cardinal. In thanking Holstenius afterwards for all his favours to him, he adds ° “ De cætero, novo beneficio devinxeris, si <sup>p</sup> *Eminentissimum* Cardinalem quantâ potest observantiâ meo nomine salutes, cujus magnæ virtutes, rectique studium, ad provehendas item omnes artes liberales egregiè comparatum, semper mihi ob oculos versatur.” At Rome also, Selvaggi and Salfilli praised the attainments of Milton in those verses, which are prefixed to his Latin poetry.

He next removed to Naples, in company with a hermit; to whom Milton owed his introduction to

• Lit. Lucæ Holstenio, dat. Florent. Mart. 30. 1639, *Prose-Works*, vol. iii. p. 327. edit. 1698.

¶ Milton, it may be observed, is careful not to omit the *title* first applied to the Cardinals by Barberini: since whose time, Dr. Bargrave relates, “ the title of *Padrone* continueth to the Pope’s chiefe Nephew, and the title of *Emnenza* to all the Cardinals. Indeed the authority which Urban VIII. gave to Francisco [Barberini, his eldest Nephew,] was *not ordinary*; for he thought it not enough to give the powre, except he gave it the vanety and title of *Padrone*, that is, Master and Lord, a title never heard of before at Rome. But Urban had nothing in his mouth but the *Cardinall Padrone*: Where is the *Cardinall Padrone*? Call the *Cardinall Padrone*: Speake to the *Cardinall Padrone*: Nothing was heard of but the *Cardinall Padrone*; which the embassadors of Princes did not like, saying they had no *Padrone* but the Pope himselfe. However their [the Barberinis’] ambition stayed not at this title: they tooke exceptions of the quality of *Illustrissimo*, with which hitherto the Cardinals had binn content for so many ages. The title of Excellency belonging to soveraine Princes in Italy, they strove to find out something that should not be inferiour to it; and, canvassing many titles, at length they pitched upon *Eminency*, which the Princes hearing of, they took upon themselves the title of Highness.” MS. as before.

the patron of Taffo, Manfo, marquis of Villa, a nobleman distinguished by his virtue and his learning. To this eminent person he was obliged in many important instances; and, as a testimony of gratitude, he presented to him, at his departure from Naples, his beautiful eclogue, entitled *Manfus*; which Dr. Johnson acknowledges must have raised in the noble Italian an high opinion of English elegance and literature. Manfo likewise has addressed a distich to Milton, which is prefixed to the Latin poems.

From Naples Milton intended to proceed to Sicily and Athens :

“ Countries,” as Mr. Warton has excellently observed, “ connected with his finer feelings, interwoven with his poetical ideas, and impressed upon his imagination by his habits of reading, and by long and intimate converse with the Grecian literature. But so prevalent were his patriotick attachments, that, hearing in Italy of the commencement of the national quarrel, instead of proceeding forward to feast his fancy with the contemplation of scenes familiar to Theocritus and Homer, the pines of Etna and the pastures of Peneus, he abruptly changed his course, and hastily returned home to plead the cause of ideal liberty. Yet in this chaos of controversy, amidst endless disputes concerning religious and political reformation, independency, prelate, tithes, toleration, and tyranny, he sometimes seems to have heaved a sigh for the peaceable enjoyments of lettered solitude, for his congenial pursuits, and the more mild and ingenuous exercises of the muse. In a Letter to Henry Oldenburgh, written in 1654, he says, ‘ Hoc cum libertatis adversariis inopinatum certamen, *diversis* longè et *amœnioribus* omnino studiis intentum, ad se rapuit invitum.’ And in one of his prose-tracts, ‘ I may one day hope to have ye again in a

¶ Preface to his Edition of the Smaller Poems.

¶ Prose-Works, vol. iii. p. 330. ed. 1698.

¶ Apol. Smeſtymn. 1642.

still time, when there shall be no Chiding. Not in these Noises.' And in another, having mentioned some of his schemes for epick poetry and tragedy, 'of highest hope and hardest attempting' he adds, 'With what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, sed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, from beholding the bright countenance of Truth in the quiet and still air of delightfull studies, &c.' He still, however, obstinately persisted in what he thought his duty. But surely these speculations should have been consigned to the enthusiasts of the age, to such restless and wayward spirits as Prynne, Hugh Peters, Goodwyn, and Baxter. Minds less refined, and faculties less elegantly cultivated, would have been better employed in this task :

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' Coarse complexions,  
 ' And cheeks of sorry grain, will serve to ply  
 ' The sampler, and to tease the hufwife's wool.  
 ' What need a vermeil-tinctur'd lip for that,  
 ' Love-darting eyes, and tresses like the morn?' - "

He returned by the way of Rome, though some mercantile friends had acquainted him that the Jesuits there were forming plots against him, for the liberty of his conversation upon matters of religion. He paid little attention to the " advice of his friend Sir Henry Wotton, " to keep his thoughts close, and his countenance open." Nor did the liberal and polished Manso omit to acquaint him, at his departure, that he would have shown him more considerable favours, if his conduct had been less unguarded. He is supposed to have given offence by having visited Galileo. And he had been with difficulty restrained from publicly asserting, within the verge of the Vatican, the

\* Church-Governm. B. ii. 1641.

\* See the Prelim. Notes to *Comus*, in this edition.

cause of Protestantism. While Milton, however, defended his principles without hypocrisy, he appears not to have courted contest. When he was questioned as to his faith, he was too honest to conceal his sentiments, too dauntless to relinquish them. He staid at Rome two months more without fear, and indeed without molestation. From Rome he proceeded to Florence, where he was received with the most lively marks of affection by his friends, and made a second residence of two months. From Florence he visited Lucca: Then crossing the Apennine, he passed by the way of Bologna and Ferrara to Venice, in which city he spent a month. From Venice he took his course through Verona, Milan, and along the lake Lemano, to Geneva. After spending some time in this city, where he became acquainted with \* Giovanni Deodati, and Frederick Spanheim, he returned through France, and came home after an absence of fifteen months. Mr. Hayley has admirably observed, that, “ in the relation which Milton gives himself of his return, the name of Geneva recalling to his mind one of the most slanderous of his political adversaries, he animates his narrative by a solemn appeal to Heaven on his unspotted integrity; he protests that, during his residence in foreign scenes, where licentiousness was universal, his own conduct was perfectly irreproachable. I dwell the more zealously on whatever may elucidate the moral character of Milton; because, even among those who love and revere him, the splendour of the poet has in some measure eclipsed the merit of the man; but in proportion as the particulars of his life are studied with intelligence and

candour, his virtue will become, as it ought to be, the friendly rival of his genius, and receive its due share of admiration and esteem."

His return happened about the time of the King's second expedition against the Scots, in which his forces under lord Conway were defeated by general Lesley, in the month of August 1639. In a Bible, \* said to have been once in his possession, (probably the constant companion of his travels,) is a manuscript remark, dated 1639 at Canterbury city, which may serve to show the powerful impression made on his mind, (admitting the authenticity of the remark,) by this eventful period. "This year of very dreadful commotion, and I weene will ensue murderous times of conflicting fight." The date of the year and place may lead us to suppose that, having landed at Dover, he was on his return from his travels to London. The gentleman, who communicated the intelligence of this Bible to the publick, and had been indulged with a sight of it, selected other marginal observations which appeared to him remarkable; among which is the following poetical note on I. Maccab. xiv. 16. "Now when it was heard at Rome, and as far as Sparta, that Jonathian was dead, they were very forry:"

"When that day of death shall come,

"Then shall nightly shades prevail;

"Soon shall love and musick fail;

"Soone the fresh turfe's tender blade

"Shall flourish on my sleeping shade."

\* Gentleman's Magazine, July 1792, p. 615. And I learn, from the obliging information of Mr. Nichols, that this Bible is now in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Blackburn, son of the late Archdeacon Blackburn who wrote the Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Life of Milton, 12<sup>mo</sup> Lond. 1780.

The authenticity of the remarks, and of the Bible having belonged to Milton, has indeed been <sup>1</sup> questioned; but has been defended not without considerable force, by the communicator himself, and by other writers in the valuable miscellany, in which the information has been given; to the demonstrations and conjectures of whom I refer the reader <sup>2</sup>.

Before we attend to the busier scenes of life, in which Milton, now returned to his native country, became engaged; let me be permitted to lament that he never executed the scheme, which he once proposed to himself in his animated lines to Manso, of <sup>a</sup> “embellishing original tales of chivalry, of clothing the fabulous achievements of the early British kings and champions in the gorgeous trappings of epick attire.” The delight which he had derived from the military tales of Italy now perhaps sunk into neglect; though never into forgetfulness. In his latest poems he seems to look back, not without an eye of fond regard, to the more distinguished compositions of this kind; and certainly with ample testimony of the attention, with which he had studied (to use his own words) “those lofty fables and romances that recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood <sup>b</sup>.”

At his return he heard of the death of his beloved friend and schoolfellow, Charles Diodati. And he lamented his loss in that elegant eclogue, the *Epita-*

<sup>1</sup> Gent. Mag. Sept. 1792, p. 789.

<sup>2</sup> Gent. Mag. Oct. 1792, p. 900. And Ibid. Gent. Mag. February 1793, p. 106. Gent. Mag. March 1800, p. 199.

<sup>a</sup> See Mr. Warton's Preface to the Smaller Poems.

<sup>b</sup> See particularly P. L. B. i. 579, &c. P. R. B. iii. 336, &c.

*phium Damonis*, which Mr. Warton has successfully defended against the cold remark of Dr. Johnson<sup>c</sup>.

He now hired a lodging in St. Bride's Church-yard, Fleet-street; where he undertook the education of his sister's sons, John and Edward Phillips, <sup>d</sup> "the first ten, the other nine years of age; and in a year's time made them capable of interpreting a Latin author at sight." Finding his house not sufficiently large for his library and furniture, he took a handsome <sup>e</sup> garden-house in Aldersgate-street, situated at the end of an entry, that he might avoid the noise and disturbance of the street. Here he received into his house a few more pupils, the sons of <sup>f</sup> his most intimate friends; and he proceeded, with cheerfulness, in the noblest employment of mankind, that of instructing others in knowledge and virtue. "As he was severe on one hand," says Aubrey, "so he was most familiar and free in his conversation to those

<sup>c</sup> Note at the end of the poem.

<sup>d</sup> Aubrey's MS.

<sup>e</sup> From the Note signed H. in Dr. Johnson's *Life of Milton*, *Lives of the Poets*, ed. 1794, vol. i. p. 130, it appears, that there were many of these *garden-houses*, i. e. houses situated in a garden, especially in the north suburbs of London; and that the term is technical, frequently occurring in the *Athen.* and *Fast. Oxon.* The annotator adds, that the meaning may be collected from the article Thomas Farnabe, the famous schoolmaster; of whom the author says, that he taught in Goldsmith's-rents, in Cripple-gate parish, behind Redcross-street, where were large gardens and handsome houses: Milton's house in Jewin-street was also a *garden-house*, as were indeed most of his dwellings after his settlement in London.

<sup>f</sup> See the last Note on Lawes's Dedication of *Comus* to Lord Brackley.

whom he must serve in his way of education." His younger nephew has related the method of his instruction, and the books employed. Of the Latin, the four authors concerning husbandry, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius; Cornelius Celsus, the physician; a great part of Pliny's natural history; the Architecture of Vitruvius; the Stratagems of Frontinus; and the philosophical poets, Lucretius and Manilius. Of the Greek, Hesiod; Aratus's *Phænomena* and *Dioscemeia*; Dionysius Afer *de situ orbis*; Oppian's *Cynegeticks* and *Halieuticks*; Quintus Calaber's poem of the Trojan war, continued from Homer; Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonauticks*; and in prose Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum*, and of the Education of children; Xenophon's *Cyropædia* and *Anabasis*; Ælian's *Tacticks*; and the *Stratagems* of Polyænus. Nor did this application to the Greek and Latin tongues impede the cultivation of the chief oriental languages, the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriack, so far as to go through the *Pentateuch*, to make a good entrance into the *Targum* or Chaldee paraphrase, and to understand several chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriack Testament; besides the modern languages, Italian and French; and a knowledge of mathematicks and astronomy. The Sunday exercise of his pupils was, principally, to read a chapter of the Greek Testament, and to hear his learned exposition of it: to which was added the writing, from his dictation, some part of a system of divinity, which he had collected from the ablest divines who had written upon the subject. From the rigid attention which such a system required he occasionally relaxed; and once in three or four



weeks the hard study and spare diet, of which he was an eminent example to his pupils, gave way to the regale of a gaudy day with some young gentlemen of his acquaintance; the chief of whom, says his nephew, were Mr. Alphry and Mr. Miller, the beaux of those times, but nothing near so bad as those now-a-days!" These were the seasons in which Milton "resolved to drench in mirth that, after, no repenting draws," and in which he would not forfeit his pretensions of admission into the train of the true Euphrosyne:

—— " In thy right hand lead with thee  
 " The mountain-nymph, sweet Liberty;  
 " And, if I live thee *honour due*,  
 " *Mirth*, admit me of thy crew;  
 " To live with her, and live with thee,  
 " In *unreproved pleasures free*."

It seems uncandid in Dr. Johnson to have ridiculed the academick institutions of Milton with the title of the "*wonder-working academy*," because no man very eminent for knowledge proceeded from it, and because Philips's small history of poetry, as he <sup>s</sup> inaccurately states, is its only genuine product. The merit of Milton's intention cannot be denied, however the mode of education, which he pursued, may perhaps be justly thought impracticable. His nephew, with great spirit and affection, observes that, if his pupils <sup>b</sup> "had received his documents with the same acuteness of wit and apprehension, the same industry, alacrity, and thirst after knowledge, as the Instructor was endued with, what prodigies of wit and learning

<sup>s</sup> See this point further discussed in the present Account.

<sup>b</sup> Life of Milton, p. xix.

might they have proved ! The scholars might in some degree, have come near to the equalling of the Master, or at least have in some sort made good what he seems to predict in the close of an elegy he made in the seventeenth year of his age, upon the death of one of his sister's children, a daughter, who died in her infancy :

Then thou, the mother of so sweet a child,  
Her false-imagin'd loss cease to lament,  
And wisely learn to curb thy sorrows wild ;  
This if thou do, he will an offspring give,  
That, to the world's last end, shall make thy name to live.

But, though thus employed in the education of youth, Milton now began to sacrifice his time to the harsh and crabbed employment of controversy. In 1641 the clamour ran high against the bishops, and in that clamour he joined, by publishing a treatise *Of Reformation*, in two books ; being willing to assist the Puritans in their designs against the established Church, who, as he informs us in his *Second Defence*, 'were inferior to the bishops in learning. We are to recollect that Milton had before attacked the episcopal clergy, and had even anticipated the execution of Archbishop Laud, in his *Lycidas*, written before he was twenty-nine years old. The antipathy, then clothed in an allegorick veil, now burst into expressions of elaborate and undisguised invective. Of the innovations, caused in the ceremonies of the Church by Laud, and which excited the animadversion of Milton, it may not be improper here to observe, that it has been 'said by a great scholar,

<sup>1</sup> See the *Europ. Magazine*, vol. xxviii. p. 379.

and most excellent historian in ecclesiastical no less than in civil matters, that every ceremony, of which Laud enforced the observation, is to be found in the ritual of Andrews, bishop of Winchester, who was styled the antipapistical prelate. Laud, in his speech delivered at the Star-Chamber, when he passed judgment on Baftwick, Burton, and Prynne, thus vindicates himself, p. 4, &c. \* “ I can say it clearly and truly as in the presence of God, I have done nothing, as a prelate, to the uttermost of what I am conscious, but with a single heart, and with a sincere intention for the good government and honour of the Church, and the maintenance of the orthodox truth and religion of Christ professed, established, and maintained in this Church of England. For my care of this Church, the reducing of it into order, the upholding of the externall worship of God in it, and the setting of it to the rules of its first reformation, are the causes (and the sole causes, whatever are pretended,) of *this malicious storme, which hath lowered so black upon me, and some of my brethren.* And in the meane time they, which are the only or the chief *innovators* of the Christian world, having nothing to say, *accuse us of innovation*; they themselves and their complices in the meane time being the *greatest innovators* that the Christian world hath almost ever known. I deny not but others have

\* “ A Speech delivered in the Starre-Chamber, on Wednesday the xiv<sup>th</sup> of June, MDCXXXVII, at the censure of John Baftwick, Henry Burton, and William Prinn; concerning pretended Innovations in the Church. By the most reverend father in God, William, L. Archbishop of Canterbury. London, printed by R. Badger, 1637.”

spread more dangerous errors in the Church of Christ; but no men, in any age of it; have been *more guilty of innovation* than they, while themselves cry out against it: *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* And I said wel, *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* For 'tis most apparent to any man that will not winke, that the *intention of these men, and their abettors, was and is to raise a sedition; being as great incendiaries in the State (where they get power) as they have ever been in the Church;* Novatian himselfe hardly greater. Our maine crime is (would they all speake out, as some of them do,) that we are bishops; were we not so, some of us might be as passable as other men." To those, who would examine attentively the ecclesiastical controversy of this period, I recommend the perusal of the whole speech.

In 1641, the eloquent Hall, bishop of Norwich, having published an *Humble Remonstrance* in favour of Episcopacy, five ministers, under the title of *Smectymnus*, a word formed from the first letters of their<sup>1</sup> names, wrote an *Answer*; of which Archbishop Usher published a *Confutation*. To this *Confutation* Milton replied in his *Treatise Of Prelatical Episcopacy*. And, although he has ungracefully classed the archbishop's *Confutation* with "some late treatises, *one whereof goes under the name of James, Lord Bishop of Armagh,*" he has, in his next publication, complimented the excellent prelate for

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young (Milton's preceptor), Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow, the initial letter of whose Christian name is quaintly divided, in order to produce this celebrated word! This is to be enumerated among the few playful tricks of fanaticism.

his learning. With such an adversary as Usher, indeed, which of the *Smeectymnuans* would have dared to cope? This enterprize none *could* partake with Milton. Vehement as he was in his reply to the two bishops, he also enlarged this topick of puritanical zeal in another performance, entitled *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy*, in two books. And, bishop Hall having published *A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance*, he wrote *Animadversions* upon it. These treatises were the fruits of his prejudice against the established Church in 1641. From the third treatise, *The Reason of Church Government*, we derive some knowledge of his literary projects, and of the opinion he entertained of his own abilities; expressed, as Dr. Johnson well observes, not with ostentatious exultation, but with calm confidence; with a promise to undertake something, he yet knows not what, that may be of use and honour to his country. The whole passage, from which Dr. Johnson has cited a small part as a fervid, pious, and rational pledge of the *Paradise Lost*, however well known to the admirers of the poet, is too sublime and interesting to be read again and again without renewed and increased delight.

“<sup>m</sup> Time serves not now, and, perhaps, I might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope and hardest attempting; whether that epick form, whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a diffuse, and

the book of Job a brief, model; or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed; which in them that know art, and use judgement, is no transgression, but an enriching of art: and lastly, what king or knight, before the Conquest, might be chosen, in whom to lay the pattern of a christian hero. And as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice, whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition against the infidels, Belisarius against the Goths, or Charlemain against the Lombards; if to the instinct of nature, and the emboldening of art, ought may be trusted, and that there be nothing adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our ancient stories. Or whether those dramatick constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation.—Or, if occasion shall lead, to imitate those magnifick odes and hymns, wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy. But those frequent songs throughout the Law and Prophets, beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyrick poesy to be incomparable. These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation; and are of power, besides the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and publick civility, to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections in right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's Almightyness, and what he works, and what he suffers to be wrought, with high providence in his church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from justice and God's true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever hath

passion or admiration in all the changes of that, which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and reflexes of man's thoughts from within; all these things, with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint out and describe, teaching over the whole book of sanctity and virtue, through all the instances of example, with such delight, to those especially of soft and delicious temper, who will not so much as look upon Truth herself, unless they see her elegantly drest; that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they will then appear to all men both easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed.—

“The thing which I had to say, and those intentions, which have lived within me ever since I could conceive myself any thing worth to my country, I return to crave excuse that urgent reason hath pluckt from me by an abortive and fore-dated discovery; and the accomplishment of them lies not but in a power above man's to promise; but that none hath by more studious ways endeavoured, and with more unwearied spirit that none shall, that I dare almost aver of myself, as far as life and free leisure will extend. Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader that for some few years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amorist, or the trencher fury of a riming parasite; nor to be obtained by the invocation of dame Memory and her Siren daughters; but by devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases: to this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs; till which in some measure be compassed, at mine own peril and cost I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give

them. Although it nothing content me to have disclosed thus much before hand; but that I trust hereby to make it manifest with what small willingness I endure to interrupt the pursuit of no less hopes than these, and leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noise and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of Truth, in the quiet and still air of delightfull studies."

In 1642 he closed the controversy with an *Apology for Smectymnuus*, in answer to the *Confutation of his Animadversions*, written, as he supposed, by bishop Hall or his son. He thought all this while, says Dr. Newton, that he was vindicating ecclesiastical liberty. Yet he has confessed, that he was not disposed to "in this manner of writing, wherein knowing myself inferior to myself, led by the genial power of nature to another task, I have the use, as I may account it, but of my left hand." *This left hand*, indeed, has recorded too many sentiments which we must reject, too many expressions which we must lament. By his asperity the repulsive form of puritanism is rendered more hideous and disgusting, and the cause which he would support is weakened.

At Whitsuntide in 1643, and in his thirty-fifth year, (as I have before observed,) he married Mary, the daughter of Richard Powell, a gentleman who resided at Forest Hill near Shotover in Oxfordshire, and was a justice of the peace for the county. He brought his bride to London; who, after living only a few weeks with him, obtained his consent to accept the invitation of her friends to spend the remaining part of the sum-

<sup>a</sup> Introduction to the second Book of his Reason of Church Government.



mer with them in the country. He gave her permission to stay till Michaelmas; but she declined to return at the expiration of that period. The visit to her friends was, in fact, only a pretence for conjugal desertion. This desertion has been imputed, by Phillips, to the different principles of the two families. Her relations, he tells us, "being generally addicted to the Cavalier party, and some of them possibly engaged, in the King's service, (who by this time had his head quarters at Oxford, and was in some prospect of success,) they began to regret them of having matched the eldest daughter of the family to a person so contrary to them in opinion; and thought it would be a blot in their escutcheon, whenever that Court should come to flourish again: however, it so incensed our author, that he thought it would be dishonourable ever to receive her again after such a repulse." The same biographer intimates, that she was averse to the philosophick life of Milton, and sighed for the mirth and jovialness to which he had been accustomed in Oxfordshire. And Aubrey relates, that she "° was brought up and bred where there was a great deal of company and merriment, as dancing, &c.; and, when she came to live with her husband, she found it solitary, no company came to her, and she often heard her nephews cry and be beaten. This life was irksome to her, and so she went to her parents. He sent for her home after some time. As for wronging his bed, I never heard the least suspicion of that; nor had he of that any jealousy." It has escaped the biographers of the

poet, however, that, while he ingenuously admits “<sup>p</sup> that every motion of a jealous mind should not be regarded,” he has not failed to enumerate, among the reasons which are said to have warranted divorce in elder times, “*the wilfull haunting of feasts, and invitations with men not of her near kindred, the lying forth of her house without probable cause, the frequenting of theatres against her husband’s mind, &c.*” If this be not pointed directly at the conduct of his wife, the following passage certainly exhibits his indignation at her continuance under her *father’s* roof, while at the same time it confirms Aubrey’s account that he did not suspect her as faithless to his bed. “<sup>q</sup> He [Grotius] shews also, that fornication is taken in Scripture for *such a continual headstrong behaviour, as tends to plain contempt of the husband*, and proves it out of Judges xix. 2, where the Levite’s wife is said to have played the whore against him; which Josephus and the Septuagint, with the Chaldean, interpret *only of stubbornness and rebellion against her husband*: and to this I add that Kimchi, and the two other rabbies who gloss the text, are in the same opinion. Ben Gersom reasons, that had it been whoredom, a Jew and a Levite would have disdained to fetch her again. *And this I shall contribute, that had it been whoredom, she would have chosen any other place to run to than to her FATHER’S HOUSE*, it being so infamous for a Hebrew woman to play the harlot, and so opprobrious to the parents. Fornication then in this place of the Judges is under-

<sup>p</sup> Doct. and Discip. of Divorce, B. ii. Ch. xviii.

<sup>q</sup> Ibid.

stood for *stubborn disobedience against the husband, and not for adultery.*"

He sent for her, however, in vain. As all his letters, desiring her to return, were unanswered; so the messenger, whom he afterwards employed for the same purpose, was dismissed from her father's house with contempt. He resolved therefore, without further ceremony, to repudiate her; and, in defence of his resolution, he published four treatises, the two first in 1644, the two last in 1645. *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce; The Judgement of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce; Tetrachordon, or Expositions upon the four chief Places of Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage; and Colasterion.* The last is a reply to the anonymous author of "An Answer to a Book, intituled *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, or a Plea for Ladies and Gentlewomen, and all other Married Women against Divorce. Wherein both Sexes are vindicated from all bondage of Canon Law, and other mistakes whatsoever; and the unsound principles of the Author are examined and fully confuted by Authority of Holy Scripture, the Laws of this Land, and sound Reason. Lond. 1644." This pamphlet was licensed and recommended by Mr. Joseph Caryl, a Presbyterian divine, and author of a voluminous commentary on the book of Job; whom Milton, in his reply, roughly stigmatizes with repeated charges of ignorance, as he also styles his antagonist "a serving-man both by nature and by function, an idiot by breeding, and a solicitor by presumption!" The application of these and similar terms, in the dispute, may remind us of the *elegant dialogue* be-

tween Nym and Pistol in Shakspeare's <sup>r</sup> King Henry the fifth: but there a wife retained, and not a wife repudiated, is the cause of so much eloquence!

There had been another tract written against Milton's doctrine, which he briefly notices at the beginning of his *Colasterion*, entitled "Divorce at pleasure." Nor was he inattentive to the remark of Dr. Featley, who in the Epistle Dedicatory to his "Dippers dipt," published in 1645, enumerates, among "the audacious attempts upon Church and State, a *Traçtate of Divorce*, in which the bonds of marriage are let loose to inordinate lust, and putting away wives for many other causes besides that which our Saviour only approveth, namely, in case of adultery." Milton speaks contemptuously of the author as having written an "equivocating treatise," and as "diving the while himself with a more deep prelatical malignance against the present State and Church-government." Dr. Johnson and Mr. Warton are mistaken in supposing the new doctrine to have been unnoticed, or neglected: indeed the two Sonnets, which Milton wrote on the same subject, seem to discountenance the opinion. It certainly was received with ridicule, as we learn from Howel's <sup>s</sup> Letter to Sir Edward Spencer. But it gave rise to a band, not perhaps very formidable, who were called *Divorcers*, and even *Miltonists*. Pagitt, in his "Description of the Hereticks and Sectaries" of that period, notices the <sup>t</sup> former sect with him, who wrote

<sup>r</sup> Act ii. Scene i.

<sup>s</sup> Letters, 10th edit. p. 455.

<sup>t</sup> Herefiography, &c. 1654. p. 129. See also Ibid. p. 77. And "A brief description &c. of Phanatiques in generall, 1660." p. 33.

the *Traçtate of Divorce*, at their head. The latter title occurs in "u The Epilogue, shewing the Parallell in two Poems, the Return, and the Restauration, Addressed to her Highnesse the Lady Elizabeth, by C[hristopher.] W[affe]. 1649." 8vø.

- " Force-can but in a Rape engage,
- " 'Tis choice must make it Marriage :
- " Hence a conveyance they contrive,
- " Which must on us their cause derive :
- " This must attaque, what holds out still,
- " And is impregnable, the Will.
- " This must enchant our conscious hands,
- " To slumber in like guilty bands,

" This book was obligingly pointed out to me by Thomas Park, Esq; to whom the literary world is indebted for some of the sweetest Sonnets in the English language. The same gentleman directs me to the following bitter application of Milton's doctrine to himself by G. S. (whom I suppose to be the same person as the author of the weak performance noticed in Mr. Warton's and my own remarks on the poet's Sonnet to Cyriack Skinner,) in " Britain's Triumph, for her imparallel'd deliverance and her joyful celebrating the Proclamation of her most gracious incomparable king Charles the second &c. 1660." 4to. G. S. the author, after satirizing the members of the Rump Parliament, thus proceeds, p. 15.

- " But who appears here with the curtain drawn ?
- " What, MILTON ! are you come to see the fight ?
- " Oh *Image-breaker* ! poor knave ! had he sawn
- " That which the fame of made him crye out-right,
- " He'ad taken counsel of Achitophell,
- " Swung himself weary, and so gone to hell.
- " This is a sure Divorce, and the best way ;
- " Seek, Sir, no further, now the trick is found,
- " To part a fullen knave from's wife, that day
- " He doth repent his choyce ; stab'd, hang'd, or drown'd,
- " Will make all sure and further good will bring,
- " The wretch will rail no more against his *King*."

“ While, like the froward *Miltonist*,  
 “ We our old nuptial knot untwist :  
 “ And with the hands, late faith did joyn,  
 “ The bill of plain Divorce now signe.”

It had been treated also as an “ \* error so gross as to need no other confutation,” than the mere mention of it. But before these remarks had been made upon a doctrine, at which the shafts of ridicule as well as censure might indeed be fairly levelled, the innovation of the author had also been opposed from the pulpit. The presbyterian clergy had not only caused him to be summoned before the House of Lords, by whom however he was quickly dismissed ; but one of them, in a sermon before the Lords and Commons on a fast-day, had endeavoured in vain to excite their indignation against him. Milton notices this attack in the beginning of his *Tetrachordon*, and thanks the auditors for not repenting of what the preacher called their sin, the neglecting to brand his book with some mark of their displeasure. This opponent, who has been hitherto unnoticed, was Herbert Palmer, B. D. a Member of the Assembly of Divines, and parliamentary Master of Queen’s College, Cambridge. “ \* If any,” says he to his judicial audience,

\* In “ A Glasse for the Times, &c. With a briefe Collection of the Errors of our Times, and their Authors Names. Collected by T. C. a friend to Truth. Lond. 1648.” 4to. Milton and his doctrine are noticed in p. 6. T. Forde, the dramatick writer, appears to have entertained no favourable opinion of *incompatibility of temper* being urged as a reason for divorce. See his letter to T. C. apparently written at the time when Milton’s treatise was first published, in the collection of his Letters, 8vo. Lond. 1660, p. 103—106.

\* I had examined many

“ plead conscience for the lawfulness of *polygamy* ; (or for *divorce* for ’ other causes than Christ and his Apostles mention ; of which a *wicked booke is abroad and uncensured, though deserving to be burnt, whose author hath been so impudent as to set his name to it, and dedicate it to yourselves,*) or for liberty to marry

the hope of discovering the author who had thus publicly attacked Milton ; but without success. I am indebted to my liberal friend, James Bindley, Esq; for pointing out, after a long research also, this forgotten discourse ; of which I will give the title : “ The Glasse of God’s Providence towards his Faithfull Ones. Held forth in a Sermon preached to the two Houses of Parliament at Margaret’s Westminster, Aug. 13, 1644. being an extraordinary day of Humiliation. Wherein is discovered the great failings that the best are liable unto, &c. The whole is applied specially to a more carefull observation of our late Covenant, and particularly against the ungodly toleration pleaded for *under pretence of Liberty of Conscience.* By Herbert Palmer, B. D. &c.”

’ And yet it seems, in the *Confessio Fidei* of the Assembly of Divines published in 1656, that Milton’s doctrine had not been entirely neglected. See Cap. xxiv. “ *De Conjugio et Divortio.* §. 6. Quamvis ea sit hominis corruptio, ut proclivis sit ad excogitandum argumenta indebitè illos, quos Deus connubio junxit, diffociandi; nihilominus tamen *extra* adulterium ac *desertionem ita obstinatum ut cui nullo remedio nec ab ecclesia nec à magistratu civili subveniri possit*, sufficiens causa nulla esse potest conjugium dissolvendi.” Conf. Fid. 12mo. Cantab. 1656, p. 65. I am indebted to Mr. Octavius Gilchrist, the ingenious editor of bishop Corbet’s poetry, for the notice of the following stroke of satire, evidently pointed at Milton, both in respect to this and to another subject, so late as in 1670, in the Preface to Echard’s Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion ; “ I am not, I’ll assure you, any of those occasional writers, that, missing preferment at the University, can presently write you their new ways of education ; or, being tormented with an ill-chosen wife, set forth the Doctrine of Divorce to be truly evangelical.”

incestuously, will you grant a toleration for all *this*?" Milton now became an enemy to the Presbyterians, whom he before had favoured. Notwithstanding their opposition, however, he proceeded to illustrate his opinion more forcibly by paying his addressee to a young lady of great wit and beauty, the daughter of one Dr. Davis, with a design to marry her! But this desire of carrying his doctrine into practice was not countenanced by the lady. What is more remarkable, the proceeding contributed to effect a reconciliation with the discarded wife.

In the mean time, Milton pursued his studies with unabating vigour; and, in 1644, at the request of his friend, Mr. Samuel <sup>a</sup> Hartlib, published his tractate *Of Education*; or plan of academical institution: in which, as he expresses it, he leads his scholar from Lilly to his commencing master of arts. Mr. Warton observes that <sup>a</sup> Milton's plan has more of show than value. "<sup>b</sup> Education in England," Dr. Johnson has remarked, "has been in danger of being hurt by two of its greatest men, Milton and Locke. 'Milton's plan is impracticable, and I suppose has never been tried. Locke's, I fancy, has been tried often enough, but is very imperfect; it gives too much to one side, and too little to the other; it gives too little to literature.'" It is perhaps not generally known that Milton's treatise on this subject has been translated

<sup>a</sup> Of this remarkable person the reader may find an account, written by himself, in Kennet's Register, 1728. p. 868. See also Mr. Warton's first edition of Milton's Smaller Poems, p. 116, &c. **A** Life of Hartlib is a desideratum in English biography.

<sup>a</sup> See his first edition of Milton's Smaller Poems, p. 117.

<sup>b</sup> Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. 1799. vol. iii. p. 382.



into French. The translator has bestowed much eulogium <sup>c</sup> upon the author. In the same year, Milton published his *Areopagitica, a Speech for the liberty of unlicensed Printing*: perhaps the best vindication, as Dr. Newton observes, that has been published at any time, or in any language, of that liberty which is the basis and support of all other liberties, the liberty of the press. But the candid critick adds, that it produced not the desired effect; for the Presbyterians were as fond of exercising the licensing power, when they got it into their own hands, as they had been clamorous before in inveighing against it, while it was in the hands of the Prelates.

<sup>c</sup> “ Dans les tems que nous nous proposons de donner ces Lettres au Public, il nous en est tombé entre les mains *une de Milton*, qui n’a pas encore paru dans notre langue, &c.—Rien ne fait tant d’honneur à l’Angleterre que de voir que *le plus grand poëte*, et l’un de plus celebres philosophes [Locke], qu’elle ait eus, ont assez senti de quelle importance étoit l’éducation des enfans, pour s’en occuper serieusement.—Dans *cette Lettre* il est aisé de s’appercevoir que ç’a été un des plus sçavans hommes qui aient vécu. C’est par cette vaste érudition, joint à un heureux génie, qu’il est devenu le plus grand de tous les poëtes modernes. Aussi son *Paradis Perdu* n’est-il pas l’ouvrage de sa jeunesse: Peut-être alors en avoit-il conçu l’idée; mais avant que de l’exécuter, il avoit vécu avec les hommes, il avoit connu l’usage et la puissance des passions, il avoit l’esprit orné de la connoissance de toutes les sciences & de tous les arts. Sans examiner si la maniere d’élever la jeunesse que Milton propose est aisée à réduire en pratique; il est sur que son plan est rempli de vûes très-fines & très-sages, & qu’il paroît contenir tout ce qui est nécessaire pour former un citoyen utile à sa patrie & agréable à la société.” Lettres sur L’Education des Princes. Avec une Lettre de Milton, &c. 1746. Preface, pp. lxxv, lxxix.

His father having come to live with him, after the surrender of Reading to the Earl of Essex in 1643, and his scholars now encreasing, he required a larger house; before his removal to which, he was surpris'd, at one of his usual visits to a relation in the lane of St. Martin's-le-grand, to see his wife come from another room, and beg forgiveness on her knees. The interview on her part had been concerted. The declining state of the royal cause, and consequently of her father's family, as well as the intelligence of Milton's determination to marry again, caused her friends to employ every method to re-unite the insulted husband and disobedient wife. It was contrived that she should be ready, when he came, in another apartment. Fenton, in his elegant sketch of the poet's life, judiciously remarks, that "<sup>d</sup> it is not to be doubted but an interview of that nature, so little expected, must wonderfully affect him: and perhaps the impressions it made on his imagination contributed much to the painting of that pathetick scene in *Paradise Lost*, in which Eve addresses herself to Adam for pardon and peace. At the intercession of his friends who were present, after a short reluctance, he generously sacrificed all his resentment to her tears:

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‘ Soon his heart relented  
 ‘ Towards her, his life so late, and sole delight,  
 ‘ Now at his feet submissive in distress.’

And after this re-union so far was he from retaining an unkind memory of the provocations which he had

<sup>d</sup> Prefixed to his edition of *Paradise Lost*, first published in 1725.

received from her ill conduct, that, when the king's cause was entirely oppressed, and her father who had been active in his loyalty was exposed to sequestration, Milton received both him and his family to protection and free entertainment, in his own house, till their affairs were accommodated by his interest in the victorious faction." Mr. Powell, however, seems to have smarted severely for his attachment to the royal party. I observe, in the "Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, that have compounded for their Estates," printed at London in 1655, that he was thus branded as well as fined: "Richard Powel, *Delinquent*, per John Pye, Esq; 576l. 12s. 3d." And his house had been before seized by the rebels.

At the time of Milton's reconciliation with his wife, it was settled that she should reside in the house of a friend, till his new mansion, which he had procured in \* Barbican, was ready for the reception of his increased household. When it is considered that Milton cheerfully opened his doors to those who had treated him with indignity and breach of faith; to a father, who, according to the poet's † Nuncupative Will, never paid him the promised marriage portion of a thousand pounds, and to a mother, who, according to Wood, had encouraged the daughter in her perverseness; we cannot but accede to Mr. Hayley's conclusion, that the records of private life exhibit not a more magnanimous example of forgiveness and beneficence. They are supposed to have left him

\* See the Notes on Lawes's Dedication of *Comus*.

† Subjoined to this account of the Life. In the Notes on the Will Mr. Warton relates several particulars concerning Mr. Powell.

soon after the death of his father, who ended a long life in 1647; and whose declining days had been soothed by every attention of a truly affectionate son.

While Milton experienced the mortification of conjugal desertion, and was immersed in elaborate discussions connected with his misfortune, he was not without mental amusement. His leisure hours often passed smoothly away in visits to a lady of the most engaging talents and conversation, the daughter of the Earl of Marlborough; to whom, as to her husband Captain Hobson, a very accomplished gentleman, his company was peculiarly acceptable. His tenth Sonnet, inscribed to this discerning lady, is a grateful acknowledgement of his esteem. His time also had been employed in collecting together his early poems, both English and Latin, for the press. They were first published by Humphrey Moseley, the general publisher of the poets of his day, in 1645; who tells us, in his Address to the Reader, that "the author's more peculiar excellency in these studies was too well known to conceal his papers, or to keep me from attempting to solicit them from him. Let the event guide itself which way it will, I shall deserve of the age, by bringing into the light as true a birth as the Muses have brought forth since our famous Spencer wrote; whose poems in these English ones are as rarely imitated, as sweetly excelled." Moseley was not more discerning than Milton was modest. But modesty was a principal feature in Milton's character. He affixed only his initials to *Lycidas*: he acknowledged, with hesitation, *Comus*. It is rather surprising, that Mr. Warton should have \* asserted that,

\* In the Prefaces to both his Editions of the Smaller Poems.

for seventy years after their first publication, he collects no mention of these poems in the whole succession of English literature; and that the quantity of an hemistich, quoted from them, is not to be found in the Collections of those who have digested the Beauties or Phrases of the English Poets from 1655 to 1738 inclusively. It is my duty positively to assert that in the edition of Poole's *English Parnassus*, or *Help to English Poesie*, published in 1677, there are few <sup>b</sup> pages in which quotations may not be found from Milton's poetry. In the preface also to Ayres's *Lyrick Poems*, published in 1687, Milton is thus noticed :

“ If any one quarrel at the oeconomy or structure of these poems, many of them being Sonnets, Canzons, Madrigals, &c. objecting that none of our great men, either Mr. Waller, Mr. Cowley, or Mr. Dryden, whom it was most proper to have followed, have ever stooped to any thing of this sort ; I shall very readily acknowledge, that, being sensible of my own weakness and inability of ever attaining to the performance of one thing equal to the worst piece of theirs, it easily dissuaded me from that attempt, and put me on this ; which is not without president : For many eminent persons have published several things of this nature, and in this method, both Translations and Poems of their own ; as the famous Mr. Spencer, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Richard Fanshawe, Mr. Milton, and some few others : The success of all which, in these things, I must needs say, cannot much be boasted of ; and though I have little reason, after it, to expect credit from these my slight Miscellanies, yet has it not discouraged me from adventuring on what my genius prompted me to.”

<sup>b</sup> And, to the credit of Poole's selection, I may add that the examples are very often taken from *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, and the *Ode on the Nativity*.

I may further observe that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* appear to have sometimes caught the notice of Robert Herrick, in his *Hesperides*, published in 1648; and that both the ease and imagery of these poems are certainly copied, in a few instances, by Andrew Marvell, the intimate friend of Milton. I will cite a proof from his verses, entitled *The Garden*, Poems, ed. 1681, p. 49.

“ Fair Quiet, have I found thee here,

“ And Innocence, thy sister dear!

“ Mistaken long, I fought you then

“ In busie companies of men.”

That we meet with no notices of these exquisite poems in the days of Cromwell, must be imputed to “ the dark and sullen humour of the time.” And we may truly apply, to such neglect, the judicious couplet of Milton's <sup>1</sup> happiest imitator:

“ Verse, in the finest mould of fancy cast,

“ Was lumber in an age so void of taste.”

In 1647 Milton removed to a smaller house in Holborn, which opened backward into Lincoln's-Inn fields; and continued to instruct a few scholars. Phillips tells us, that “ he is much mistaken, if there was not about this time a design of making him an adjutant-general in Sir William Waller's army. But the new modelling of the army proved an obstruction to the design.” This perhaps may be doubted, when it is considered that Waller was esteemed a leader of the Presbyterians against the designs of the Independents. Milton, in his military capacity, could not have served cordially under a general so disposed.

<sup>1</sup> Cowper. Table-Talk.

Till the overthrow of the kingly government in the death of Charles, his pen appears to have been unemployed. . It was resumed in order to silence the outcry, raised by the Presbyterians, against the deed of blood ; and to advance the interests of the infant commonwealth. The product of it, was entitled, "*The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, proving that it is lawfull, and hath been held so through all ages, for any, who have the power, to call to account a tyrant, or wicked king ; and, after due conviction, to depose, and put him to death, if the ordinary magistrate have neglected or denied to do it : And that they, who of late so much blame deposing, are the men that did it themselves, 1649." Milton seems to have been not correct in his charge. He should have added the Papists and Independents, who were banded in firm league against the Church and the King. He remembered however the assistance which had been afforded by the Pope, when he wrote his treatise *Of True Religion* four and twenty years afterwards ; of whom he says, " we have shaken off his Babylonish yoke, [who] hath not ceased by his spies and agents, bulls and emissaries, once to destroy both King and Parliament." On this part of English history it cannot be uninteresting to enlarge.

" I shall here say no more," says the editor of a very curious \* tract, " than that the doctrine which was practis'd in

\* " Certain passages which happened at Newport in the Isle of Wight, Nov. 29, 1648, relating to King Charles I. Written by Mr. Edward Cooke, of Highnam in Gloucestershire, sometime Colonel of a Regiment under Oliver Cromwell. Lond. 1690."

*forty eight*, was published in English in *twenty one*, in the book entitled *The Rights of the Prelate and the Prince*, as good Roman Catholick divinity, by J. E. with Licence of Superiors; and consequently, that John Goodwin and John Milton were not the first broachers of it in England. The strain of the whole book is of that nature, and the following words are part of it, ch. 15. p. 375. And if Kings, who were not excommunicated nor deprived by the Pope, may by the Commonwealth be depos'd and kill'd, where they are intolerable tyrants; why may not the Commonwealth exercise the same power over tyrants excommunicated and deprived by the Pope, they, after excommunication and deprivation, being no more Kings, but private men."

The subject had indeed had been before discussed in a very interesting discourse, of which the title is, "Herod and Pilate reconciled: Or, The Concord of Papist and Puritan (against Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and other Orthodoxall Writers) for the Coercion, Deposition, and Killing of Kings. Discovered by David Owen, Batchelour of Divinitie, &c. Cambridge, 1610," 4<sup>to</sup>. To this point I may also apply an extract from "Foxes and Firebrands; or a Specimen of the danger and harmony of Popery and Separation;" attributed by some to Dr. Nelson, by others to Sir James Ware: "But that which makes the thing plain, is the discovery which was made to Sir William Boswell by Andreas ab Habnerfeld; which was communicated first by Sir William to my Lord of Canterbury, and by him transmitted to the King then at York, Novemb. 1640. The whole is printed by itself, and in <sup>1</sup> Rushworth's Collections; and is too long here to insert; but the principal parts and matter of the

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Collect. p. 1314.



plot was this ; That there was a design on foot, by the Papists, against the King and the Archbishop. That, to effect this, the Scottish commotions were raised, and fomented by the Jesuits ; that they exasperated the English Dissenters by the severity used against Pryn, Burton, and Bastwick ; and the Scots, by the fears of Popery upon the imposition of the Common-Prayer book ; that Cuneus or Con, the Pope's Legate, and Chamberlain a Scot, Chaplain and Almoner to Cardinal Richlieu, were the great negociators of this conspiracy ; and that the design was to embroil these nations in a civil war. The troubles came on so fast, as may well be supposed, precipitated for fear of a further prosecution of this discovery, that the Archbishop lost his head for refusing a cardinal's hat, and opposing the Scottish Covenanters ; and the King his, because he would not give away the crown, and put down the mitre, by granting toleration, 2d. edit. 1682, pp. 50, 51." It was one of the threats of the Covenanters, that " the Enemy should be forced either to give Liberty of Conscience to the Catholicks, or put themselves in danger of losing all, p. 48." Other proofs of the <sup>m</sup> combination might be added. The following narrative is too curious, and too well authenticated, to be here omitted. ' It is from the pen of Dr. Bargrave, (whose manuscript I have already noticed) who was particularly acquainted with Holstenius, one of Milton's friends. Being at Rome, he says,

" Cardinel Rosssetti was shewed to me to take more particular notice of him, because that he had binn almost 3 yeares

<sup>m</sup> See more particularly Kennet's Register, 1728, pp. 539, 540. And Lord Strafforde's Letters, 1739, vol. ii. p. 74.

in England the Popes Nuntio Incognito, as you may find in the Italian Historian mentioned in the margent °.

“ An°. 1639 There arriued (sayth he) at London, to reside at the Court as a gentleman traueler, sent by Cardinal Barberino, but effectually he was the Pope's Nuntio, by name Charles Rosssetti, an Earle by birth; whoe had taken vpon him the Church habite of a Prelate; whoe was of a greate spirit, actiue, and prudent; able to vndertake busines of the greatest difficultie. He was valerous of heart, had a learned tongue, was quick in parts, in breif he was such an one, that his fellow could not be fownde in all the Court of Rome. His letters were dated at Rome the 16<sup>th</sup>. of Aprill: (and then my Author telleth us a secret that we are not to know, viz.) And because that in England he woare a Secular habit, and tooke vpon him no other name but of Conte Rosssetti, therefore I will also hide, where I haue occasion to mention him, his ecclesiasticall title of Monsignore, and giue him onely the title of his noble famely <sup>p</sup>. Vpon his comming to Court, and being courteously receiued, all things went well with the Ro: Catholicks; and those Preits, that by law were to be punished with Death, were onely banished. This was the Spring time of the Catholick Religion in that kingdome, which *florished by the sweete favourable blasts of the Conte Rosssetti!* Vpon this libels went about that <sup>q</sup> the King and Archbishop were Popish &c; wherevpon the Archbishop aduised the King to rid his Court of the Roman Minsters, and to renew the rigour of the law. The Conte Rosssetti, hearing of this, wold not hide the Interesse for which he was at London; but, vpon this occasion, being made more vigorouse of courrage in this time of dainger, thought that now an opportunity was giuen him *to captinate the Kings soul*, and to conduct him to the Catholick Fayth! vpon which he broke his minde to a confident Courtier of theires, whoe yet doubted how to effect it. Rosssetti, having

° Il Conte Bifaccione Delle Guerre Civili D'Inghilterra, Edit. 2<sup>a</sup>. 1653. p. 17.

<sup>p</sup> P. 18.

<sup>q</sup> P. 22.

him perswaded by the Queene to write to the Pope for about an 100000<sup>b</sup> sterling to supplie the Kings necessities, His Holiness his answer was, ' That the Pope was very ready to supply the King so soone as euer he should declare him selfe a Catholick, the onely auaylable meanes to losen the chaines of the Treasurie of the Cattle of St. Angelo at Rome. But, for a King that should turne to the bosom of the Church, he would lay hands upon that Sacred Treasorie, otherwise shut vp and impenetrable &c.—Where one may reade a greate many Intreagues about the lending of this mony, ' and how resolutely the King withstood their attempts, and how Rossetti assailed the two Archbishops to returne to the Roman Faith'. And then we haue mention of Rossetti's letter to the King to perswade him to turn Papist. But he finding his Ma:<sup>tie</sup> vnmooveable and firme as a Rock, that strongly resisteth the fury of stormes and tempests, hauing his Faith fixed and fastned to a more sure foundation; this Latent <sup>a</sup> Nuntio gaue ouer his fruitless Designe. Finding (saith my Author) that *he gaue light vnto the blinde, that he spake to one that was deaf, and, as the prouerb hath it, wold with water wash a blackmore white*, the (Latent) Nuntio forooke him; and stole owt of England (for feare of the Parliament that sented him) by the help of Sig<sup>r</sup>. Giustiniano the Venetian Imbassador, and at his coming to Rome *fu decorato della Porpora Vaticana*.

" Though he was forced to be gonn, yet the effects of his Nuntiature lasted all the Ciuill Warr, especially amongst the Irish Rebels". To disprooue the calomny that was rayfed upon the King (probably both by Papist and Presbyterians) he vsed all the meanes he could to shew that he was a cordiall Protestant, as is seene by his mony then coyned. So in the seuerall Speeches that he made at the head of his Army, one of them, saith my Author, hath this passage\*: ' If I tooke a wife of an other Religion being of the Roman faith, it was

<sup>a</sup> P. 31.

<sup>'</sup> P. 32, 33.

<sup>'</sup> P. 34.

<sup>"</sup> P. 35.

<sup>"</sup> P. 44.

<sup>\*</sup> P. 80.

with a Univerſall Conſent: If the Lord Roſſetti came to my Court, I uſed him courteouſly, as a noble man and a ſtrainger, as it is fitt for Princes to doe, and yet vpon onely ſuſpition, and not guilt of any wrong to England, I ſent him away.<sup>1</sup>—My Author in another place<sup>2</sup>, ſpeaking of the death of Archbiſhop Lauð on the Scaffold, by way of ſcoffe ſayth—*It had bin better for him to haue turned Catholick, and to haue gonn to Rome, as he had binn aduiſed, by the prudent counſell of the Popes zealous Nuntio, Roſetti, now a Cardinall<sup>2</sup> ! And, ſpeaking of our Kings death, he hath this paſſage—His death was foretould (ſo long ago as when he was Prince of Wales) when he was in Spaine, where he, going to viſit a holy Nunne, whoe was much eſteemed for her ſanctity; ſhee foretold him, that, if he did not hearken to the inſpirations of that light which his gardian Angell ſhold inſtruēt him in, he ſhold dye a miſerable death, and ruine all his progeny !* This ANGELL was Cardinal ROSSETTI, whoe by his frequent inſpirations, not internall, but to the eare and the eye, by the voice and by writings, by his eloquent and angelicall ſuggeſtions, indeavoured his conuerſion to the Catholik Faith ; Card : Roſſetti an *Angel* in praćtice ! Greate Miniſter of the Pope, and an *Angel* by his office, as being a *Nuntio* or *Meſſenger* ; a zealous Nuntio ! Whence it is no maruell, if what the holy Nunne foretold had its effect !

“ Card : Barberino at Rome ; This Man his Agent *here* ; Card : Mazarino in France ; And Gio : Rinuccini Archbiſhop of Firmo in Italy, and the Popes Nuntio in Ireland ; were the Popiſh Eccleſiaſticks, that by the helpe of the Jeſuites, in all probabiley, were the men that ruined the King and Kingdome vnder the new name and Cheate of INDEPENDENT ; I being tould beyond Sea by Muncks and Fryars that I might heare Maſs where I wold among the *Independents* ; that Word ſignefying onely *Independent* as to the Church of England, but *Dependent* as to the Church of Rome ; and ſo our warr was a warr of Religion to bring in

Popery, and the King was a true martyr (that died for his Religion) in reuenge for the death of the Queene of Scotts, his grandmother."

This acute traveller relates also that he was at Rome, on his fourth visit to that city, when Charles the second was restored; which event, he says, "to my knowledge, was to the great griefe of the Triple Crowne and College of Cardinals, who thought to have binn Masters of England." In another page he cites the Italian author, already mentioned, to shew that "Charles the first suspected Mazzarino and the Imbassador of France to have had a hand in his troubles."

From these communications, which the subject of Milton's book induced me to make, I pass on to notice his next publication in 1649; which was "*Observations on the Articles of Peace* between James Earl of Ormond, for King Charles I. on the one hand, and the Irish Papists and Rebels on the other, &c. And *Animadversions on the Scotch Presbytery* at Belfast." The new order of things seemed to be threatened by the desertion of the Scotch Presbyterians to the standard of Ormond; and he made these remarks to obviate the danger.

He next entered upon his *History of England*; of which he had written four books, when, without expectancy or solicitation of preferment, he was invited by the Council of State to be *Latin* Secretary; as they had determined neither to write to others abroad, nor to receive any answers, except in that language, which was common to them all. Their choice could not have fallen upon a more perfect master of Latinity. Dr. Newton wishes that succeeding princes

had followed this example of Latin correspondence ; because, “ \* in the opinion of very wise men, the universality of the French language will make way for the universality of the French monarchy.” It may be added, that Milton himself has countenanced the opinion : “ Then began the English to lay aside their own ancient customs, and in many things to imitate French manners ; the great peers to speak French in their houses, in French to write their bills and letters, as a great piece of gentility ; ashamed of their own : *a presage of their subjection shortly to that people, whose fashions and language they affected so slavishly* <sup>b</sup>.” Perhaps in the affectation of her fashions and manners, rather than in the usage of her language, France may have found, and may yet hope to find, in other countries, no mean auxiliary to her detestable aim of universal domination. But Britain has stood, and may it stand to the last period of time, “ unshaken, unseduced,” by such degrading imitations in a few faithless children. That innocence, and modesty, and tenderness of heart, by which her daughters have ever been distinguished ; and that well-principled conduct, the true spirit of liberty and real love of religion, for which her sons have been renowned ; will never, let us hope, fall victims to the designs of a pretended philosophy, which confounds the distinctions of right and wrong ; to

— “ those new-fangled toys, and trimming slight

“ Which takes our late fantasticks with delight.”

\* Life of Milton.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. of England, B. vi. edit. 1698, p. 111.

\* From Milton's masterly Verses *At a Vacation Exercise in the*

About this time the King's impressive book, entitled "Eicon Basiliké, or the Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings," having been published; Milton was ordered to prepare an answer to it. He accordingly printed, by authority, in 1649, his "Eiconoclastes," or *the image-breaker*; the purport of the King's book being, in his opinion, <sup>d</sup> "to catch the worthless approbation of an inconstant, irrational, and <sup>e</sup> *image-doting* rabble." Milton's work has been translated into French. It has been asserted, but not proved, that Milton together with Bradshaw prevailed upon the printer to interpolate a prayer, taken from Sidney's *Arcadia*, in some editions of the King's book. Dr. Newton candidly observes, "I cannot but hope and believe, that Milton had a soul above being guilty of so mean an action to serve so mean a purpose; and there is as little reason for fixing it upon him, as he had to traduce the King for profaning the duty of prayer, 'with

*College*, addressed to the corrupters of his Native Language. See the Notes on ver. 18 of that poem.

<sup>d</sup> Eiconoclastes, at the end.

<sup>e</sup> The popularity of the book was unquestionably very great. And no wonder. Interesting as the subject is, the style is also extremely elegant as well as forcible. Dr. Symmons in discussing the controverted point whether the king or bishop Gauden was the author of it, relates, from the rest of the biographers, that it received *two answers*, viz. the *Εἰκὼν ἀκλῆτος* in 1651, and *Vindiciæ Carolinæ* in 1692. Several other tracts require to be examined, (and which might be named,) on this subject. In particular, for the use of those who may hereafter investigate the point, it may be necessary to state that the *Εἰκὼν ἀλήθεια* written against the king, and the *Εἰκὼν ἡ πικρὴ* for him, (both published in 1649,) deserve more attention than hitherto has been bestowed on them.

the polluted trash of romances.' For there are not many finer prayers in the best books of devotion; and the King might as lawfully borrow and apply it to his own occasions, as the ' Apostle might make

' This reasoning (though not noticed by Dr. Newton) occurs in the *Εἰκὼν ἄκλαστος*, 'The Image Unbroken, an Answer to Milton's book, printed in 1651. The passage is worthy of citation. "He [Milton] sayes, *herein the worst of kings professing Christianisme have by farr exceeded him*, and he gives his reason, *for that the king hath, as it were, unhallowed and unchristned by borrowing to a Christian use prayers offered to a heathen god.*"

"And doth saint Paul excede the worst of kings professing Christianisme by borrowing to a Christian use the words of an heathen philosopher, and poet? did he thereby unhallow and unchristian Scripture?"

"His [Milton's] meaning is, as followes afterward, that the king used a prayer taken out of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. After the first edition of his Majesty's booke, the printers, finding the greate vent of them, in the following editions printed prayers, and other things in the king's name, not belonging to the booke. Among these prayers, there is a prayer taken out of the *Arcadia*. That prayer is neither made by a heathen woman, nor to a heathen god, but is composed by the author a Christian, without any reference to any heathen deitie; and the author is not thought to unchristian prayer by it, the libeller himselfe saying the booke in its kinde is full of worth and wit; but as his outcry hath noe cause from the matter, so heere is no evidence of the fact, that his Majesty made use of that prayer, or popt into the bishopp's hands a relique of his exercise, though he might warrantably have used it, and professed it." P. 82.

Peck assures us that he had seen an English edition of the *Eicon*, printed in 1648, in which this prayer was not to be found. *Defid. Cur.* ed. fol. vol. ii. lib. xiv. p. 48. I have before me a Latin translation of the *Eicon* by Dr. Earle, printed in 1649, in which also we seek in vain for this famous prayer. Whether Milton intended to ridicule the king's book by the following remark, I know not; "*there wanted onely rime, and that, they say, is bestowed upon it lately.*" *Eiconoclastes*, ch. vi.



quotations from heathen poems and plays : And it became Milton the least of all men to bring such an accusation against the King, as he was himself particularly fond of reading romances, and has made use of them in some of the best and latest of his writings." Milton's supposed imposture has been also discredited by Dr. Birch<sup>s</sup>.

Having thus distinguished himself as the advocate of republicanism, the Members of the English council naturally appointed him to vindicate their cause against the attack of no mean opponent. King Charles the second, being now protected in Holland, had employed Salmasius, a learned Frenchman, professor of Polite Learning at Leyden, to write a defence of his late father, and of monarchy. "Salmasius," Dr. Johnson observes, "was a man of skill in languages, knowledge of antiquity, and sagacity of emendatory criticism, almost exceeding all hope of human attainment; and having, by excessive praises, been confirmed in great confidence of himself, though he probably had not much considered the principles of society, or the rights of government, undertook the employment without distrust of his own qualifications; and, as his expedition in writing was wonderful, in 1649 published *Defensio Regia*." It is certainly remarkable that Salmasius, the pensioner to a republic, should write a vindication of monarchy. The States indeed ordered it to be suppressed. Before he had proceeded in his work, he was thus cautioned by his friend Sartavius : <sup>a</sup> "Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ

<sup>s</sup> See the Inquiry into the Orig. of Par. Lost, p. 233.

<sup>a</sup> M. Gudii et G. Sarravii, Epistolæ. Ultrajecti, 1697. Sarrav. Ep. cxviii. p. 203.

aggrederis. Defensionem dico nuper occisi Britanniarum Regis; maximè cum vestri Ordines mediam viam fecent. Laudo tamen animi tui generosum propositum, quo nefandum scelus apertè damnare sustines. Hac tamen te cautione uti opus est, ne ita Majestatem Regiam extollas, ut erga subditos amorem videantur illis gratis largiri." From the correspondence of this learned Frenchman with Salmasius we learn some curious particulars respecting the work, which occasioned Milton's elaborate answer. Sarravius advised him to read the king's book, as subservient to his purpose; a book, he says, which he had read with the highest admiration: <sup>1</sup> "adeò in ea [icone] plena omnia bonitatis erga subditos eximiæ, et in Deum pietatis. Ex eo libro potueris non pauca depromere Apologetico tuo firmando." After the *Defensio Regia* had been published, he informs him of the blame attached to him for not having sent a copy to the widowed queen of Charles; <sup>2</sup> *who, though poor, would yet have paid the bearer.* Sarravius informs him also of <sup>1</sup> reported antagonists, long before Milton appeared against him. Milton indeed commenced hostile operation immediately on the publication of Salmasius's defence. But the various interruptions, which he mentions in the eloquent Preface to his *Defensio Populi*, prevented his publick display of opposition till the beginning of the year 1651.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. Ep. ccv. p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Ep. ccxxiii. p. 223. "Vidi nobilem Anglum expostulantem, quòd omiseris unum exemplum mittere ad defuncti Caroli viduam, quæ hîc [Paris.] degit; *Quamvis enim, inquiebat, sit in re minimè laudâ, tamen potuisse solvere pretium tabellarii, qui illud attulisset.*"

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. Ep. ccxxxvii. p. 235.

Hobbes is said to have declared himself unable to <sup>m</sup> decide whose language was best, or whose arguments were worst. In Dr. Johnson's opinion, Milton's periods were smoother, neater, and more pointed; but he delights himself with teasing his adversary, as much as with confuting him. Milton's book was burnt at Paris, and at Toulouse. But this procured it more readers. From a letter of Nicholas Heinsius to Isaac Vossius it appears to have been translated into Dutch, and to have been expected also in a French dress. Into our own language it was translated, at the close of the seventeenth century, by Mr. Washington of the Temple. Salmasius's book attracted much less notice. It has appeared indeed in

<sup>m</sup> "Uterque, si Hobbio fides, Latino insignis, at rationibus vacuus." Comm. de Rebell. Angl. ab an. 1640, &c. à R. Manlio, Eq. Aur. 8vo. 1686. lib. ii. p. 226.

It seems that they accused each other of grammatical blunders. I have heard of a copy of Salmasius's book, the margins of which are said to be decorated with barbarisms and solecisms detected by Milton. Without weighing the demerits of this kind, I will only observe, that Milton's criticisms appear to have occasioned the following sarcasm of the witty Butler. See Butler's Remains, edit. Thyer, vol. i. p. 220.

— some polemics use to draw their swords

Against the language only and the words;  
*As he who fought at barriers with Salmasius,*  
*Engag'd with nothing but his style and phrases,*  
*Wav'd to assert the murder of a prince,*  
*The author of false Logic to convince;*  
 But laid the merits of the cause aside,  
 By those that understood them to be try'd;  
 And counted breaking Priscian's head a thing  
 More capital than to behead a king;  
 For which he has been admir'd by all the learn'd  
 Of knaves concern'd, and pedants unconcern'd!

different forms, both Latin and French; and, as it should seem from the correspondence of Sarravius, <sup>a</sup> in some editions with slight variations. Salmasius afterwards endeavoured to defend his cause, according to the testimony of Isaac Vossius, by a most unjustifiable attack upon the moral character of Milton while he resided in Italy: Both combatants indeed had betrayed too much personal malevolence: But it is to the disgrace of Salmasius that he should so far have forgotten himself as to confound the champion with the assassin. Milton, for his performance, was complimented <sup>\*</sup> at home by the visits or invitations of all the foreign ministers at London, as well as by the more solid approbation of his employers in the present of a thousand pounds; and by encomiastick letters from the most celebrated scholars abroad. Christina, queen of Sweden, is said to have treated the *defender of monarchy* with coldness, after having read the *Defence of the People*: And Dr. Newton adds that Salmasius was dismissed, from her Court, with contempt. He was dismissed, or rather retired, not with degradation, but, as Dr. Johnson observes, with a train of attendance scarcely less than regal. Probably for the mean pleasure of tormenting Salmasius, this capricious monarch had commended Milton. After Salmasius's death, she

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. Ep. ccxxxvi. p. 234.

<sup>\*</sup> He perhaps lost the friendship of others on this occasion. Certain it seems that the amiable and learned Earl of Bridgewater, who had performed the part of the First Brother in his *Comus*, now disdained his acquaintance. On the title-page of the *Defensio*, now in the Marquis of Stafford's possession, that Nobleman has written, "*Liber igne, Author fureâ, dignissimi.*"

assured his widow, by letter, that she had esteemed him as a father, and would never cease to honour his memory. Salmasius died in 1653 at Spa; having prepared a reply to Milton, without books, and by the sole help of memory <sup>p</sup>; which, left as it was unfinished, was <sup>q</sup> published by his son, with a dedication to the King, at the Restoration: It is more distinguished for abuse than argument.

It must not be omitted that Salmasius, in his *Defensio Regia*, had pressed hard upon his adversary in a particular point; and that Milton, to maintain the point, was tempted to put on the fragile armour of untruth. A learned prelate, in modern times, has detected this diminished brightness of Milton.

“<sup>r</sup> When Salmasius upbraided Cromwell’s faction with the tenets of the Brownists, the chosen advocate of that execrable faction [Milton] replied, that, if *they* were Brownists, Luther, Calvin, Bucer, Zuinglius, and all the most celebrated theologians of the Orthodox, must be included in the same reproach. A grosser falshood, as far as Luther, Calvin, and many others are concerned, never fell from the unprincipled pen of a party-writer. However sedition might be a part of the puritanick Creed, the general faith of the Reformers rejects the infamous alliance.”

Dr. Symmons, who to the late edition of <sup>s</sup> Milton’s *Prose Works* has prefixed a life of the author, is

<sup>p</sup> Vita et Epist. Cl. Salmasii, ab. Ant. Clementio, 1656. Vit. p. liii.

<sup>q</sup> It appears to have been translated into English, and published at London in 1660. See bishop Kennet’s Register, p. 270.  
“Salmasius’s Dissection and Confutation of Milton.”

<sup>r</sup> Appendix to Bishop Watson’s Sermon before the House of Lords, Jan. 30, 1793, p. 38.

Published in 1806.

indignant at this accusation ; conceding indeed to the “ ‘ liberal and worthy prelate very unfeigned respect,” but at the same time “ protesting against the rashness which incited him to this violent paragraph ; and with singular humanity deploring the “ ‘ unhappy insertion” of it, preceded by my “ harsh imputation,” into this account of the great poet. No less desirous than Dr. Symmons to avoid misrepresentation in speaking of Milton, I will copy what he has advanced in maintenance of his pity and indignation, and with a brief reply leave the *charge of rashness* to be appropriated as impartiality may direct.

“ \* To refute this incautious charge,” says Dr. Symmons, “ nothing more can be necessary than the production of the passage in Milton’s work, to which the reference is made. It concludes the fifth chapter of the *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, and it stands independently of any thing which precedes it. ‘ *Quereris enim postremis hisce seculis disciplinæ vigorem laxatum, regulam corruptam, quod uni scilicet tyranno, cunctis legibus soluto, disciplinam omnem laxare, mores omnium corrumpere, impune non liceat. Hanc doctrinam* ‘ Brunistas inter reformatos’ *introduxisse ais : Ita Lutherus, Calvinus, Zuinglius, Bucerus, et Orthodoxorum quotquot celeberrimi theologi fuisse, tuo judicio Brunista sunt. Quo æquiore animo tua maledicta perferunt Angli, cum in ecclesiæ doctores præstantissimos, totamque adeo ecclesiam reformatam, iisdem propè contumeliis debacchari te audiant.* ‘ You complain,’ addressing himself to Salmasius, says Milton, ‘ that in this last age the vigour of discipline is impaired and its right rule corrupted, because truly it is not in the power of one despot, released himself from the controul of all law, to relax with impunity the general discipline and to corrupt the morals of all. This doctrine, as you say, was first introduced among the reformed by the Brownists ; so that, by your decision, Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, Bucer, and all the

\* Life, note, p. 321.

“ Ibid. p. 320.

\* Ibid. 321.

most celebrated of the orthodox divines are included among the Brownists. The English, therefore, support your calumnies with the greater equanimity, when they hear you thus furious in your invectives against the most admirable doctors, and consequently against the body itself of the reformed church.—If we admit the premises of Milton, can we refuse our assent to his conclusion? If to contend for liberty against the tyranny of a single person be the distinction of a Brownist, the first reformers were, beyond all question, Brownists; for one of the principal objects of their liberal and enlightened contention was to break the despotism of the Court of Rome. Milton asserts nothing but the truth; and he is justified in bringing it forward by that part of his adversary's work to which he replies. The first reformers were not only strenuous in their opposition to the papal despotism, but were on all occasions warm advocates and supporters of the civil liberties of man.”——

So then the prelate is refuted by the representation, that Milton is speaking only of contending for liberty against the tyranny of a single person! I cannot yield to this a pretence of vindicating Milton; nor may I withhold Salmasius's own words. “*Postremis vero sæculis UT IN ALIIS REBUS ita et in hac mores, ut jam dictum, cum temporibus mutati sunt, disciplinæ vigor laxatus est, et regula corrupta. Quinimo extitere tandem pestes Rerum publicarum, regumque μάστιγες, et omnis à Deo ordinatæ potestatis hostes, sophistæ quidam qui contrariam illi, quæ à Christo tradita est, doctrinam introduxerunt de occidendis quasi jure regibus si displicerent subjectis. Tales in Pontificiis Jesuitæ, inter Reformatos qui vocantur<sup>2</sup> INDEPENDENTES et Brunistæ.*” Milton's

<sup>1</sup> Defensio Regia, edit. 12<sup>mo</sup>. 1650, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> See this point illustrated, in the present account, p. 64, & seq. Salmasius speaks correctly.

reply is unquestionably evasive. It is an effort to vindicate his own party "upon the same principles," as Dr. Watkins has well observed, "which induced the reformers to separate from the Church of Rome; an artful manœuvre to put rebellion against the king, and the reformation from popery, upon the same footing."

That the death of Salmasius was hastened by the neglect which he is said to have experienced, on the appearance of Milton's book, is by no means clear. His biographer, Clementius, gives a distinct account of the disorder which terminated his days, and to which he had long been subject, the gout. The supposed credit of destroying a literary antagonist may indeed be deducted, without injury, from the achievements of Milton.

The first reply to Milton's *Defensio Populi* was published in the same year, and was entitled "Apologia pro Rege et Populo Anglicano, contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni Angli) Defensionem destructivam Regis et Populi." The author was unknown. Milton directed his younger nephew to answer it, who possibly prepared the first draught of a reply; which, before it went to press, was so carefully examined and corrected by Milton, that it may

\* Characteristic Anecdotes of men of learning and genius, &c. 8vo. 1808, p. 214.

† Bentley justly observes, in the Preface to his Dissertation on Phalaris, that "he must be a young writer, and a young reader too, that believes Milton and Petavius had themselves as mean thoughts of Salmasius, as they endeavour to make others have." Milton could once avow his respectful opinion of the "*industry of the learned Salmasius.*" Reason of Ch. Gov. B. i. Ch. vi.



be considered almost as his own performance, although denominated "Johannis *Philippi* Angli Responsio ad Apologiam anonymi cujusdam tenebrionis pro Rege et Populo Anglicano infantissimam." This piece appeared in 1652. Bishop Bramhall is the ideal enemy with whom Phillips here encounters. Of so contemptible and barbarous a composition as the *Apologia* that learned prelate could not be the author. Since the first edition of this account of Milton was published, I have indeed discovered the real author; and the imputation whether of Milton, or his nephew, applied to this excellent bishop, must never more be named. Dr. Symmons is wholly mistaken in his supposed discovery of the author. I have the authority also of bishop Bramhall himself on my side<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> From the following work we learn the name of the author of the *Apologia*: "Polemica sive Supplementum ad Apologiam anonymam pro Rege et populo Anglicano, adversus Jo: Miltoni Defensionem populi Anglicani, &c. Per Io: Rowlandum, Pastorem Anglicum. 1653." 12mo. In p. 47, the author begins to speak of his former book, and of himself: "Æstimantur tamen plerumque libri authorum vel patronorum titulis, ut divites gemmis,

————— 'cui annulus ingens,  
————— 'atque idè pluris quàm Cottus agebat.'

Et nisi typographis hoc supplementum vili venisset, qui egenti et nudo nullam laboris mei mercedem porrigere ausi sunt, vel præli impensas facere, suo lucro metuentes, diu antehac *hanc secundam Apologiam* publici juris fecissem. Sed si Salmasius, vel Heinsius, vel quis magni nominis *meæ* præfigeretur, sperno spretus, cum Heinsii Socratis pulchro fortasse pulchritudine certaret. Sed *meam* intra anni spatium decorticare periculum fecit quidam *Johannes, an alter et idem Miltonus? Philippus, vel Pseudo Philippus?* cui ratio non est quod ipse succenserem, qui, errando circa authorem *Apologiæ*, me dignitate episcopali honoravit,

But it was thought subservient perhaps to the consequence of the cause, to exhibit its nameless opponent as a man of the most distinguished talents. In this year Sir Robert Filmer's *Animadversions on Milton's Defensio*, Hobbes's *Leviathan*, and Grotius's *De Jure Belli*, were likewise published. They were unnoticed by Milton. In 1652 also, the following publication appeared in <sup>d</sup> Dublin against him: "*Carolus I. à securi et calamo Miltoni vindicatus.*" And in 1653,

*et Episcopum Dirræum*, aulicorum sacerdotum primipilum, omnivitorum labe maculavit.—Quoad cætera, *Philippus*, levis veles, in tricis et quinquiliis ferè totum se exercet circa linguæ Latinæ puritatem, cum mihi à 14 annis nec grammatica nec dictionarium fuerit, quàm quæ cerebro meo mecum circumferre possim; et tamen hisce phantasmatis, verbis, et tropis incauti lectores capiuntur, tanquàm Prisciani vel Despauterij causa ageretur, qui, quoniam in re tam seriâ tam pueriliter ineptit, non aliud à me responsum expectabit quàm quod hoc disticho comprehendam :

*Phy nota factoris Lippus malus omnibus horis,*  
*Et malus et Lippus, totus malus ergo Philippus.*

Non sum enim Johannes Bramalius Episcopus Dirræus aulicus, sed *Johannes Rowlandus* Anglicus, Pastor Ecclesiæ particularis, et tamen nominis mei me non pudet, quod in Ecclesiæ orthodoxum, olim in proverbium cessit, *Rowlandus pro Olivero, &c.*" Cap. 5. Ad fin.—I have now to communicate bishop Bramhall's own remark, obligingly transmitted to me from Ireland by the Rev. Edward Berwick, (of Elker near Leixlip,) who, in looking over some original letters of the bishop, discovered the information in one of them addressed to his son under an assumed name, and dated at Antwerpe in May 1654. "That silly book which he [Milton] ascribes to me, was written by one John Rowland, who since hath replied upon him. I never read a word either of the first book or of the replie in my life."

<sup>d</sup> This is noticed in Rawlinson's *Method of studying History*, vol. ii. p. 475. I have sought for it in vain.

at Leyden, “*Caspari Ziegleri Lipsienfis circa Regicidium Anglorum exercitationes. Accedit Jacobi Schalleri Differtatio ad loca quædam Miltoni.*” Zeigler has thought proper thus to insult the great poet: “*Jam verò, in dictis S. Scripturæ interpolandis et enervandis, quantus artifex est Miltonus! Jesuitis felicior, ipso Diabolo audacior!*” Ad Lectorem Benevolum!! Schaller is not so much disposed to abuse.

Milton, when he was first made Latin Secretary, removed from his house in Holborn to lodgings in the vicinity of Whitehall; and was at length fixed, with his family, in apartments prepared for him in Scotland-yard; where he lost an infant son. His health being impaired, he chose, however, in 1652, a more airy situation; and occupied a garden-house in Petty-France, Westminster, which opened into St. James’s Park; in which he continued till within a few weeks of the Restoration. In this abode he had not been settled long, before he lost his first wife in child-bed; who left him three daughters. He afterwards married Catherine, the daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney. She also died in child-bed of a daughter, and within ‘a year after their marriage. Milton honoured her memory, and soothed his own sensibility, in a tender Sonnet.

He had become utterly blind two or three years before his second marriage; having lost the use of his left eye in 1651, and, according to his biographers,

‘e “Mrs. Catharine Milton, wife to John Milton, Esq. buried Feb. 10, 1657.” Bishop Kennet’s MS. Collections for St. Margaret’s Parish, Westminster, cited by Mr. Malcolm in his entertaining Hist. of London, 4to. vol. 4. p. 128.

that of the other in 1654. But I am inclined to suppose, that he experienced the misfortune of total darkness before the latter date. For, in Thurloe's *State-Papers*, there is the following passage in a letter from the Hague, dated 20. Junii, 1653. “<sup>f</sup> Vous aves en Angleterre un aveugle nommé Milton, qui a le renom d' avoir bien écrit.”

His enemies meanly triumphed in his blindness; and imputed it as a judgement from heaven upon him for writing against the King. But his eyes had been gradually failing long before, owing to the midnight studies of his youth. He had been cautioned by his physicians, while he was writing his *Defence of the People*, to desist from the task, if he valued the preservation of his sight; but he was undismayed by their opinion, and did not hesitate to prefer what he thought his duty to his eyes; and, after their orbs were quenched, he nobly tells us, that, while he despised the resentment of those who rebuked his darkness, he did not want the charity to forgive them. At the desire of his friend Leonard Philaras, a celebrated Athenian, and ambassador from the Duke of Parma at Paris, (who had written an encomium of his *Defence*,) he sent him a particular account of his calamity; not without an expectation, which alas! was never gratified, of deriving benefit from the opinion of Thevenot, a physician particularly distinguished as an oculist. Milton's curious and admirable letter, which is the fifteenth of his Latin epistles, has been translated by Mr. Richardson and Mr. Hayley. In the more attractive language of the latter, I submit it to the reader.

“ As I have cherished from my childhood (if ever mortal did) a reverential fondness for the Grecian name, and for your native Athens in particular, so have I continually persuaded myself, that at some period I should receive from that city a very signal return for my benevolent regard: nor has the ancient genius of your most noble country failed to realize my preface; he has given me in you an Attick brother, and one most tenderly attached to me. Though I was known to you only by my writings, and though your residence was far distant from mine, you first addressed me in the most engaging terms by letter; and afterwards coming unexpectedly to London, and visiting the stranger, who had no eyes to see you, continued your kindness to me under that calamity, which can render me a more eligible friend to no one, and to many, perhaps, may make me an object of disregard.

“ Since, therefore, you request me not to reject all hope of recovering my sight, as you have an intimate friend at Paris, in Thevenot the physician, who excels particularly in relieving ocular complaints, and whom you wish to consult concerning my eyes, after receiving from me such an account as may enable him to understand the source and symptoms of my disorder, I will certainly follow your kind suggestion, that I may not appear to reject assistance thus offered me, perhaps providentially.

“ It is about ten years, I think, since I perceived my sight to grow weak and dim, finding at the same time my intestines afflicted with flatulence and oppression.

“ Even in the morning, if I began as usual to read, my eyes immediately suffered pain, and seemed to shrink from reading, but, after some moderate bodily exercise, were refreshed; whenever I looked at a candle I saw a sort of iris around it. Not long afterwards, on the left side of my left eye (which began to fail some years before the other) a darkness arose, that hid from me all things on that side;—if I chanced to close my right eye, whatever was before me seemed diminished.—In the last three years, as my remaining eye failed by degrees some months before my sight was utterly

gone, all things that I could discern, though I moved not myself, appeared to fluctuate, now to the right, now to the left. Obstinate vapours seem to have settled all over my forehead and my temples, overwhelming my eyes with a sort of sleepy heaviness, especially after food, till the evening; so that I frequently recollect the condition of the prophet Phineus in the Argonauticks :

————— ‘ Him vapours dark  
 ‘ Envelop’d, and the earth appeared to roll  
 ‘ Beneath him, sinking in a lifeless trance,’

But I should not omit to say, that while I had some little sight remaining, as soon as I went to bed, and reclined on either side, a copious light used to dart from my closed eyes; then, as my sight grew daily less, darker colours seemed to burst forth with vehemence, and a kind of internal noise; but now, as if every thing lucid were extinguished, blackness, either absolute or chequered, and interwoven as it were with ash-colour, is accustomed to pour itself on my eyes; yet the darkness perpetually before them, as well during the night as in the day, seems always approaching rather to white than to black, admitting, as the eye rolls, a minute portion of light as through a crevice.

“ Though from your physician such a portion of hope also may arise, yet, as under an evil that admits no cure, I regulate and tranquillize my mind, often reflecting, that since the days of darkness allotted to each, as the wise man reminds us, are many, hitherto my darkness, by the singular mercy of God, with the aid of study, leisure, and the kind conversation of my friends, is much less oppressive than the deadly darkness to which he alludes. For if, as it is written, man lives not by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God, why should not a man acquiesce even in this? not thinking that he can derive light from his eyes alone, but esteeming himself sufficiently enlightened by the conduct or providence of God.

“ As long therefore, as he looks forward, and provides for me as he does, and leads me backward and forward by the

hand, as it were, through my whole life, shall I not cheerfully bid my eyes keep holiday, since such appears to be his pleasure? But whatever may be the event of your kindness, my dear Philaras, with a mind not less resolute and firm than if I were Lynceus himself, I bid you farewell. *Westminster*, Sept. 28, 1654."

Thus "content, though blind," he continued to exercise his abilities with his accustomed animation. For, as Dr. Johnson remarks, his mind was too eager to be diverted, and too strong to be subdued. An assistant, however, was allowed him in his office of Latin Secretary; and his salary was continued. In 1654, he published his "*Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano, contra infamem libellum anonymum, cui titulus, Regii sanguinis clamor ad coelum adversus parricidas Anglicanos.*" Of the book, which excited this reply, the author was Peter du Moulin the younger, afterwards prebendary of Canterbury. He had transmitted his papers to Salmasius, by whom they were entrusted, for publication, to Alexander Morus. Du Moulin had been already in too much danger not to know the necessity of concealment. In the late King's service he had written his "*Apologie de la Religion Reformée, et de la Monarchie, et de l'Eglise d'Angleterre, &c.*" which, he has himself recorded, "§ was begun at York, during the siege, in a room whose chimney was beaten down by the cannon while I was at my work; and, after the siege and my expulsion from the rectory at Whel-

§ From the copy of his book in the Library of Canterbury Cathedral, numbered L. iv. 50.; the first five leaves of which contain a manuscript relation, written with his own hand, of his services in the cause of royalty.

drake, it was finisht in an underground cellar, *where I lay hid to auoyd warrants that were out against me from Committees to apprehend me and carry me prisoner to Hull.*—Much about the same time I set out my Latin poeme *Ecclesiæ Gemitus* with a long epistle to all Christians in-defence of the King and the Church of England; and two years after *Clamor regii sanguinis ad coelum.*” Here is a confirmation then, if confirmation were <sup>b</sup> wanting, that Milton had mistaken the publisher for the author. Milton, in his *Second Defence*, has treated Morus with equal severity and ridicule. Morus replied in his *Fides Publica*, into which were interwoven, with the vain hope of blunting the keenness of Milton’s satire, testimonials of character, and a disavowal of the book. Du Moulin was now again in great danger. His dismayed publisher gave his enemies the means of discovering him; but they suffered him to escape, rather than they would publicly convict Milton of his error. Milton, on being informed that Du Moulin, and not Morus, was the author of the *Clamor*, is said to have replied, “<sup>c</sup> Well! that was all one, he having writt it [his *Second Defence*], it should goe into the world; one of them was as bad as the other.” Morus, however, is still the object of his attack in his *Authoris pro se Defensio*, published in 1655, as a reply to the *Fides Publica*. Morus ventured to rejoin in a *Supplementum*, which was soon silenced by a brief *Responsio* from Milton; and the controversy closed.

<sup>b</sup> See the Note on the Epigram *In Morum*.

<sup>c</sup> Aubrey’s MS.



He now gave himself up to his private studies, and to the duties of his office. As Latin Secretary, he is justly supposed to have written the Protector's Declaration of the reasons for a war with Spain, in 1655. The peculiar elegance of the style bespeaks the author. He had before addressed, in the name of Cromwell, the celebrated Latin verses to Christina, queen of Sweden. For Milton, rather than Marvell, I think, has the fairest pretensions to be their owner \*.

As Milton is believed <sup>1</sup> to have continued his friendship for Henry Lawes, the musician, throughout the Rebellion, I am led to think that he now often experienced a pleasing relaxation from business and study in listening to the "soft pipe, and smooth-dittied song," of his early acquaintance. Lawes, who was acquainted with the principal poets of his time, and was honoured with many of their productions for the use of his lyre, had now published two *Books of Ayres*; in the latter of which, dated 1655, is a ballad, which "The Table, with the names of those who were the Authors of the Verses," ascribes to "Mr. I. M. p. 37." The ballad consists of the first and last sextains of a little poem, which had appeared not long before in an edition of Shakspeare's poems; at the end of which is "An Addition of some excellent poems, to those precedent of renowned Shakspeare, by other Gentlemen;" but these verses are without any signature, while Milton's epitaph on Shakspeare, in the same volume, is subscribed I. M.

\* See the Notes on Par. Reg. B. ii. 481, and on the Verses to Christina.

<sup>1</sup> Account of Henry Lawes, prefixed to *Comus*.

It may not perhaps seem improbable, that Milton might formerly have acknowledged to Lawes this production of his earlier days, which yet he had not thought worthy of admision into his collection of poems. The little poem shows at least a remarkable familiarity with Sylvester's *Du Bartas*; a book, in which Milton was <sup>m</sup> assuredly conversant. I submit the verses, with deference, to the determination of the reader.

“ *Lavinia walking in a frosty morning.*

“ I’ the non-age of a winter’s day,  
 “ Lavinia, glorious as May,  
 “ To give the morne an <sup>n</sup> earlier birth,  
 “ Paced a mile of crufted earth,  
 “ ° When each place, by which she came,  
 “ From her veines conceiv’d a flame.  
 “ The amorous plants began to strive,  
 “ Which should first be fenfitive ;  
 “ Every hoary-headed twigge  
 “ Dropp’d his snowy perriwigge,  
 “ And each bough his icy beard :  
 “ On either fide his walkes were heard  
 “ Whifpers of decrepit wood,  
 “ Calling to their rootes for blood :  
 “ The gentle foyle did mildly greete  
 “ The welcome kifles of her feete ;  
 “ And, to retaine fuch a treasure,  
 “ Like wax diffolving, took her meafure.  
 “ Lavinia flood amaz’d to fee  
 “ Things of yearly <sup>p</sup> certaintie

<sup>m</sup> See the Inquiry into the *Origin of Par. Loft.*

<sup>n</sup> In Lawes’s copy, “ an *eafier* birth.”

<sup>o</sup> In Lawes’s copy, “ *Where every* place.”

<sup>p</sup> In Lawes’s copy, “ yearly *conftancie*.”

“ Thus to rebel against their season :

“ And, though a stranger to the reason,

“ ‘ Back retiring quench’d their heate,

“ And Winter ‘ tooke his former seate.”

It has been already observed, that Milton was supplied with an assistant in his office of Secretary. In 1657 Andrew Marvell was associated with him in this duty ; before which time, Marvell asserts that he “ ‘ never had any, not the remotest, relation to publick matters, nor correspondence with the persons then predominant ;” but that he then “ enter’d into an employment, for which he was not altogether improper, and which he consider’d to be the most innocent and inoffensive toward his Majesties affairs of any in *that usurped and irregular Government to which all men were then exposed.* And this he accordingly discharg’d without disobliging any one person ; there having been opportunity and endeavours, since his Majesties happy return, to have discover’d had it been otherwise.” So manly an avowal cannot but command respect.—Of Marvell’s regard for Milton, the verses, usually prefixed to *Paradise Lost*, are an elegant testimony. In the volume, from which I have made the preceding citation, are several anecdotes of Milton and his friends, not generally known, as Mr. Warton long since observed. This second part of Marvell’s *Rehearsal Transpros’d*, published in 1673, is an attack on Dr. Samuel Parker, well known for his tergiversation with the times ; and of whom it was

¶ In Lawes’s copy, “ Back returning quench’d the heat

¶ In Lawes’s copy, “ And Winter kept.”

• *Rehearsal Transpros’d*, Sec. Part, p. 127.

once said that he “‘ had wit enough to colour any thing though never so foule, and impudence enough to affirm any thing though never so false.” When Marvell attacked him with farcastick and successful raillery, Parker was an antipuritan in the extreme. Marvell thus expresses his honest indignation against Parker for traducing his friend Milton, p. 377.

“ You do three times at least in your *Reproof*, and in your *Transproser Rehears’d* well nigh half the book thorow, run upon an author J. M., which does not a little offend me. For why should any other man’s reputation suffer in a contest betwixt you and me ? But it is because you resolved to suspect that *he* had an hand in my former book, [the first part of *The Rehearsall*, published in 1672,] wherein, whether you deceive yourself or no, you deceive others extreamly. For by chance I had not seen him of two years before ; but, after I undertook writing, I did more carefully avoid either visiting or sending to him, lest I should any way involve him in my consequences. And you might have understood, or I am sure your friend, the author of the *Common Places*, could have told you, (he too had a flash at J. M. upon my account,) that had *he* took you in hand, you would have had cause to repent the occasion, and not escaped so easily as you did under my *Transprosal*.—But because in your 115. p. you are so particular *you know a friend of ours*, &c. intending THAT J. M. and his answer to Salmasius, I think it here seasonable to acquit my promise to you in giving the reader a short trouble concerning my first acquaintance with you. J. M. was, and is, a man of as great learning and sharpness of wit as any man. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be tossed on the wrong side ; and he writ, *flagrante bello*, certain dangerous treatises.—At his majesty’s happy return, J. M. did partake, as you yourself did, for all your huffing, of his royal clemency, and has ever since ex-

piated himself in a retired silence. It was after that, I well remember it, that, being one day at his house, I there first met you, and accidentally.—Then it was, when you, as I told you, wandered up and down Morefields, astrologizing upon the duration of his majesty's government, that you frequented J. M. incessantly, and haunted his house day by day. What discourses you there used, he is too generous to remember. But he never having in the least provoked you, for you to insult thus over his old age, to traduce him by your scaramuccios, and in your own person, as a schoolmaster, who was born and hath lived more ingenuously and liberally than yourself; to have done all this, and lay at last my simple book to his charge, without ever taking care to inform yourself better, which you had so easy an opportunity to do:—it is inhumanly and inhospitably done; and will, I hope, be a warning to all others, as it is to me, to avoid (I will not say) such a Judas, but a man that creeps into all companies to jeer, trepan, and betray them."

Marvell, however, was mistaken in attributing the *Transproser Rehears'd* to Parker; which, as Mr. Warton remarks, was written by R. Leigh, formerly of Queen's College, Oxford, but then a player. It was printed at Oxford in 1673, "*for the Assignes of Hugo Grotius, and Jacob Van Harmine, on the North-side of the Lake-Lemane!*" A more scurrilous or indecent publication has seldom disgraced the press. The contemptible writer ridicules the *Paridise Lost*, because it is written *in blank verse*, p. 30; and for the same reason calls Milton a *schismatick in poetry*, p. 43. He describes the poet as *groping for a beam of light* in that sublime apostrophe, "*Hail, holy Light, &c.*" p. 43. And he reproaches him as *a Latin Secretary and an English Schoolmaster*, p. 128. With the obscenities of this scribbler I will not soil these pages. I must add that

the *Reproof* in which Milton is called *a friend of ours*, was certainly written by Parker. But Parker's "friendly voice" was afterwards changed. Neither Milton nor Marvell, however, lived to read the abuse, which Parker bestowed on both of them in his posthumous *Commentarii sui temporis*; of which Mr. Warton has given the following translated passage, relating to the pamphleteers against the royal party at Cromwell's accession.

"Among these calumniators was a rascal, one Marvell. As he had spent his youth in debauchery, so, from natural petulance, he became the tool of faction in the quality of satyrist: yet with more scurrility than wit, and with a mediocrity of talents, but not of ill-nature. Turned out of doors by his father, expelled the university, a vagabond, a ragged and hungry poetaster, kicked and cudgelled in every tavern, he was daily chastised for his impudence. At length he was made under secretary to Cromwell, by the procuration of Milton, to whom he was a very acceptable character, on account of a similar malevolence of disposition, &c." B. iv. p. 275.

This passage was perhaps written about the year 1680. *Paradise Lost*, Mr. Warton adds, had now been published thirteen years, and its excellencies must have been fully estimated and sufficiently known; yet in such terms of contempt, or rather neglect, was its author now described, by a popular writer, certainly a man of learning, and very soon afterwards a bishop. Parker became indeed a bishop; but he was also the obtruded president of Magdalen College, Oxford; the minion of a popish king.

From this account respecting Milton, and his associate in office, we may return to the employment of the great poet, after the days of controversy were

no more. His time now appears to have been devoted to the accomplishment of three literary projects; the history of his country, an epick poem, and a new dictionary of the Latin tongue. Of this last work the preparations, which he had made long before, and had occasionally continued till his death, were found so discomposed and deficient, as Phillips relates, that they could not be fitted for the press. From these preparations, however, perhaps originated the Cambridge Dictionary, published in 1693; the editors of which acknowledge, that "they made three large folio volumes, containing a collection out of all the best and purest Roman authors." They were probably communicated by Phillips, who is supposed to have been the last possessor of these classical accumulations.

In the mean time Milton amused himself with the publication of smaller productions; of a manuscript by Raleigh, entitled *The Cabinet Council*, in 1658; and of two tracts, in the succeeding year; the first relating to the *Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Cases*, the last to *The Means of removing Hirelings out of the Church*. It must here be noticed, as another proof of his studious disposition, that he had collected a variety of State Papers, from the death of the King to the present period, probably with a view to render them subservient to some particular or general history of his times. They were published in 1743 with the following title: "Original Letters and Papers of State, addressed to Oliver Cromwell, concerning the Affairs of Great Britain. From the year 1649 to 1658. Found among the Political Collections of Mr. John Milton. Now first published from the

Originals. By John Nickolls, Jun. Member of the Society of Antiquaries, London." They had been once in the possession of Ellwood. In this collection are two important letters written by Milton's friend, Colonel Overton; and a character, drawn by Captain Billhope, of another of Milton's particular friends, the lord president Bradshaw; harmonizing, in respect to personal qualities, with his own most eloquent eulogy of that regicide. The collection abounds also with choice effusions of fanatick zeal, in addresses to Cromwell and other supporters of what Milton terms "*The Good Old Cause!*" In a letter to Colonel Robert Overton, p. 161, is the following passage: "Sir, your friends beseech you *to be much in the mount with God*, who is the best counseler, and will ther be seen: This is no time to consult with flesh and blood." Then follows almost immediately an unfortunate anticlimax to such impressive eloquence, compensated instantaneously, however, by the writer's blazing resumption of his favourite subject! "*Sir, there is one Miss Dawson presents her service to you.* To-morrow is kept a very solemn day among some heer, fasting and prayers; sum devills are no other way cast out!"

Oliver being dead, and Richard being obliged to resign the protectorship, Milton, upon the dissolution of the parliament by the army, wrote *A Letter concerning the ruptures of the Commonwealth*. With a view to prevent the restoration of kingly government, other republican pens were also busily employed. Not to mention the strenuous exertions of

\* Prose-Works, vol. ii. p. 797. edit. 1698.



Harrington, I have now before me “ Idea Democratica, or a Commonweal Platform,” and “ A Model of a Democraticall Government, humbly tendered to confideration by a friend and well-wiſher to this Common-wealth,” both anonymous productions of 1659. They minutely agree with Milton’s *Brief Delineation of a Free Commonwealth*, addreſſed to Monk in the ſame year. But \* “ the ſhip of the Commonwealth” could no longer be kept afloat: The gale of popular opinion was now adverſe. Of the uſurpation there were few who were not eager to ſhake off the galling chains. The following lines of Lucretius may be conſidered as no diſſimilar picture of the preſent period, as well as of the triumphant reign of Cromwell.

‡ “ Ergo regibus occiſis ſubverſa jacebat  
 “ Priſtina majeſtas foliorum, et ſceptra ſuperba ;  
 “ Et capitis ſummi præclarum inſigne cruentum  
 “ Sub pedibus volgi magnum lugebat honorem.  
 “ Nam cupidè conculcatur nimis ante metutum.  
 “ Res itaque ad ſummam facem turbâſque redibat,  
 “ Imperium ſibi cùm, ac ſummatum, quiſque petebat.  
 “ Inde magiſtratum partim docuere creare,  
 “ Jurâque conſtituère, ut vellent legibus uti :  
 “ Nam genus humanum, deſeſſum vi colere ævum,  
 “ Ex inimiciis languebat ; quo magis ipſum  
 “ Sponte ſuâ cecidit ſub leges, arcâque jura.”

Milton, however, not long before the King’s return, publiſhed *The ready and eaſy Way to eſtabliſh a Free Commonwealth* ; which he hoped might not contain “ the laſt words of expiring liberty.” The

\* See Milton’s Proſe-Works, vol. II. p. 789. edit. 1698.

‡ Lib. v. ver. 1135.

pamphlet gave rise <sup>2</sup> both to a serious, and to a ludicrous, reply. He afterwards published *Brief Notes* upon a Sermon preached in March 1659-60, by Dr. Matthew Griffith, called *The Fear of God and the King*. These Notes were immediately answered by L'Estrange in a pamphlet, insultingly denominated *No Blind Guides*.

Perceiving the return of the King to be unavoidable, he was obliged to quit the house which he occupied as Latin Secretary, and in which he had lived eight years with great reputation; visited by all foreigners of distinction, and by several persons of quality in his own country, particularly by Lady Ranelagh, whose son had been his pupil. It appears, from Aubrey's relation, that several foreigners had been induced to visit England, in order "chiefly to see Oliver Cromwell lord protector, and Mr. John Milton." In the execution of his office Milton had acquired indeed the highest credit. His *State-Letters*, which are published, are justly admired by critics and politicians, and eminently bespeak the vigour and sensibility of his active mind. They are entitled "Literæ Senatûs Anglicani, necnon Cromwelli, &c. nomine ac jussu conscriptæ." They have been translated into English; in which dress they appeared, with his Life prefixed by Phillips, in 1694.

Milton at the Restoration withdrew, for a time, to a friend's house in Bartholomew-Close. By this precaution he probably escaped the particular prosecution which was at first directed against him.

<sup>2</sup> See the Notes on the 21st Sonnet, and the Ode to Rouse.

Mr. Warton was told by Mr. Tyers from good authority, that, when Milton was under prosecution with Goodwin, his friends, to gain time, made a mock-funeral for him; and that when matters were settled in his favour, and the affair was known, the King laughed heartily at the trick. This circumstance has been also related by an historian<sup>b</sup> lately brought to light; who says that Milton "pretended to be dead, and had a publick funeral procession," and that "the King applauded his policy in escaping the punishment of death, by a seasonable shew of dying." His *Eiconoclastes* and *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano* were, however, consigned to the most publick disgrace. It was the resolution of the Commons, on the 16th of June 1660, that his Majesty should be "<sup>c</sup> humbly moved to call in Milton's two books, and that of John Goodwin, [*The Obstructors of Justice*,] written in justification of the murder of the late King, and order them to be burnt by the common hangman; and that the Attorney-General do proceed against them by indictment or otherwise." Dr. Johnson thinks that Milton was not very diligently pursued. It is certain that he very successfully concealed himself. The proclamation for apprehending him, and his bold compeer, particularly notices that "<sup>d</sup> the said John Milton and John Goodwin are so fled, or so obscure themselves, that no endeavours used for their apprehension can take

<sup>a</sup> See his Second Edition of Milton's Smaller Poems, p. 358.

<sup>b</sup> Cunningham's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Journals of the House of Commons.

<sup>d</sup> See the Proclamation printed at length in Kennet's Register and Chronicle, 1728, p. 189.

effect, whereby they may be brought to legal trial, and deservedly receive condign punishment for their treasons and offences." Of the proscribed books several copies were committed to the flames on the 27th of August. Within three days after the burning these offensive publications, he found himself relieved, by the *Act of Indemnity*, from the necessity of concealment. Goodwin was incapacitated, as Dr. Johnson observes, with nineteen more, for any publick trust; but of Milton there was no exception. He was afterwards, however, in the custody of the Serjeant at arms; for on Saturday the 15th of December, 1660, it was ordered, by the House of Commons, "that Mr. Milton, now in custody of the Serjeant at arms, attending this House, *be forthwith released, paying his fees.*" And, on Monday the 17th, "a complaint being made that the Serjeant at arms had demanded excessive fees for *the imprisonment* of Mr. Milton; it was ordered, that it be referred to the Committee for Privileges to examine this business, and to call Mr. Mead the Serjeant before them, and to determine what is fit to be given to the Serjeant for his fees in this case." Milton is supposed to have had powerful friends both in Council and Parliament; as Secretary Morice, Sir Thomas Clarges, and Andrew Marvell. But the principal instrument in obtaining Milton's pardon is said to have been Sir William Davenant, who, when he was taken prisoner in 1650, had been saved by Milton's interest, and who now, in grateful return for so signal an obligation, interceded for the life of

Milton. This story has been related by Richardson upon the authority of Pope, who received it from Betterton, the protégé of Davenant. Aubrey, in his manuscript *Life of Davenant*<sup>f</sup>, ascribes his safety, without mention of Milton, to two aldermen of York.

Milton, having obtained his pardon, took a house in Holborn near Red-Lion-Fields; but soon removed to Jewin-street, near Aldersgate. Here he married his third wife, Elizabeth Minshull, of a genteel family in Cheshire. She was a relation of Dr. Paget, his particular friend, whom he had requested to recommend a proper consort for him. It may here be observed, that he chose his three wives out of the virgin state. Indeed he tells us that he entirely agreed “<sup>g</sup> with them who, both in prudence and elegance of spirit, would choose a virgin of mean fortunes, honestly bred, before the wealthiest widow.” Soon after this last marriage, he is said to have been offered the continuance of his employment of Latin Secretary, and to have<sup>h</sup> magnanimously declined it. It was while he lived in Jewin-street, that Ellwood the quaker was recommended to him as a person who, for the advantage of his conversation, would read to him such Latin books as he thought proper; an employment to which he attended every afternoon, except on Sundays.

<sup>f</sup> See the Hist. Account of the English Stage, Steevens's Shakspeare, edit. 1793. vol. ii. p. 431.

<sup>g</sup> Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 191. ed. 1698.

<sup>h</sup> See the Note <sup>f</sup> to the Nuncupative Will.

“ At my first sitting to him,” this ingenuous<sup>1</sup> writer informs us, in his Life of himself, “ observing that I used the English pronunciation, he told me, if I would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners, either abroad or at home, I must learn the foreign pronunciation; to this I consenting, he instructed me how to sound the vowels: This change of pronunciation proved a new difficulty to me; but ‘labor omnia vincit improbus;’ and so did I; which made my reading the more acceptable to my master. He, on the other hand, perceiving with what earnest desire I pursued learning, gave me not only all the encouragement, but all the help, he could; for, *having a curious ear*, he understood by my tone when I understood what I read, and when I did not; and accordingly he would stop me, and examine me, and open the most difficult passages to me.”

The kind care bestowed by Milton upon the improvement of this young man was repaid by every mark of personal regard. The courtesy of the preceptor, and the gratitude of the disciple, are indeed

<sup>1</sup> “ The early life of Ellwood,” Mr. Warton has remarked, “ exhibits exactly the progress of an enthusiast. Having been a profligate youth, and often whipped at school twice a day, he was suddenly reclaimed by accidentally hearing a Quaker’s sermon. He then had the felicity of following the steps of St. Paul, in suffering bonds and imprisonment. But those slight evils did not reach the spiritual man. He found the horrors of a jail to be green and flowery pastures, refreshed with the fountain of grace. He comforted himself as Shakspeare says, with ‘a snuff in a dungeon.’ The history of his desultory life, written by himself, and from which I collect these anecdotes, is filled with idle rambles and adventures, foolish scraps of poetry, and fanatical opinions. I except those passages which relate to Milton, as also the best and most curious part of the description of Bridewell and Newgate, then the usual receptacles of preaching apprentices, and frequently more full of saints than felons.”

alike conspicuous. . After several adventures, which were no slight trials of patience, Ellwood found an asylum in the house of an affluent quaker at Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, whose children he was to instruct. This situation afforded him an opportunity of being serviceable to Milton. For, when the plague began to rage in London in 1665, Ellwood took a house for him at \* Chalfont St. Giles; to which the poet retired with his family. He had not long before

\* Dr. Birch, in his *Life of Milton*, has printed a *Sonnet*, said to be written by Milton in 1665, when he retired to Chalfont in Buckinghamshire on account of the plague; and to have been seen inscribed on the glass of a window in that place. I have seen a copy of it written, apparently in a coeval hand, at the end of Tonson's edition of *Milton's Smaller Poems* in 1713, where it is also said to be Milton's. It is re-printed, from Dr. Birch's *Life of the poet*, in Fawkes and Woty's *Poetical Calendar*, 1763, vol. viii. p. 67. But, in this Sonnet there is a scriptural mistake; which, as Mr. Warton has observed, Milton was not likely to commit. For the Sonnet improperly represents David as punished by pestilence for his adultery with Bathsheba. Mr. Warton, however, adds, that Dr. Birch had been informed by Vertue the engraver, that he had seen a satirical medal, struck upon Charles the second, abroad, without any legend, having a correspondent device.—This Sonnet, I should add, varies from the construction of the legitimate Sonnet, in consisting of only ten lines, instead of fourteen.

Fair mirrour of foul times ! whose fragile sheen  
 Shall, as it blazeth, break ; while Providence,  
 Aye watching o'er his faints with eye unseen,  
 Spreads the red rod of angry pestilence,  
 To sweep the wicked and their counsels hence ;  
 Yea, all to break the pride of lustfull kings,  
 Who heaven's lore reject for brutish sense ;  
 As erst he scourg'd Jessides' sin of yore,  
 For the fair Hittite, when, on seraph's wings,  
 He sent him war, or plague, or famine sore.

removed from Jewin-street to a house in Artillery Walk, leading to Bunhill-fields. On his arrival at Chalfont he found that Ellwood, in consequence of a persecution of the quakers, was confined in the gaol of Aylesbury. But, being soon released, this affectionate friend made a visit to him, to welcome him into the country. "After some common discourses," says Ellwood, "had passed between us, he called for a manuscript of his, which, being brought, he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me, and read it at my leisure, and when I had so done, return it to him with my judgement thereupon. When I came home, and set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem, which he entitled *Paradise Lost*." From this account it appears that *Paradise Lost* was complete in 1665.

Next year, when the city was cleansed, and the danger of infection ceased, he returned to Bunhill-fields, and designed the publication of his great poem. Some biographers have supposed that he began to mould the *Paradise Lost* into an epick form, soon after he was disengaged from the controversy with Salmasius. Aubrey says, that he began the work about two years before the Restoration. However, considering the difficulties, as Dr. Newton well remarks, "under which the author lay, his uneasiness on account of the publick affairs and his own, his age and infirmities, his not being in circumstances to maintain an amanuensis, but obliged to make use of any hand that came next to write his verses as he made them, it is really wonderful that he should have the spirit to undertake such a work, and much more



that he should ever bring it to perfection." Yet his tuneful voice was

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“ unchang’d  
 “ To hoarse or mute, though fallen on evil days,  
 “ On evil days though fallen, and evil tongues;  
 “ In darkness, and with dangers compass’d round,  
 “ And solitude.”——

To Milton indeed the days might now seem evil. But to so pathetick a complaint cold must be the heart of him who can listen without compassion. It reminds us of the musical but melancholy strains; addressed by his favourite Tasso in a Sonnet to Stiglian, whom he salutes as advancing on the road to Helicon:

“ Ivi prende mia cetra ad un cipresso :  
 “ Salutala in mio nome, e dalle avvisò,  
 “ *Ch’ io son da gli anni e da fortuna oppresso.*”

The last of Milton’s familiar Letters in Latin, addressed to Peter Heimbach, an accomplished German, who is styled counsellor to the elector of Brandenburg, (and who is supposed, by an expression in a former epistle from Milton to him, to have resided with the poet, when he visited England, in the character of a disciple,) relates his consideration on his present circumstances, and his reflection on the days that were gone, in a most interesting manner. With the translation of this letter by his most affectionate and spirited biographer, Mr. Hayley, the reader will be gratified.

“ If among so many <sup>1</sup> funerals of my countrymen, in a year so full of pestilence and sorrow, you were induced, as

<sup>1</sup> Even at Chalfont, whither he had retired from the danger of infection, infection had appeared. For in the Register of the

you say, by rumour to believe that I also was snatched away, it is not surprising; and if such a rumour prevailed among those of your nation, as it seems to have done, because they were solicitous for my health, it is not unpleasing, for I must esteem it as a proof of their benevolence towards me. But by the graciousness of God, who had prepared for me a safe retreat in the country, I am still alive and well; and I trust not utterly an unprofitable servant, whatever duty in life there yet remains for me to fulfil. That you remember me, after so long an interval in our correspondence, gratifies me exceedingly, though, by the politeness of your expression, you seem to afford me room to suspect, that you have rather forgotten me, since, as you say, you admire in me so many different virtues wedded together. From so many weddings I should assuredly dread a family too numerous, were it not certain that, in narrow circumstances and under severity of fortune, virtues are most excellently reared, and are most flourishing. Yet one of these said virtues has not very handsomely rewarded me for entertaining her; for that which you call my political virtue, and which I should rather wish you to call my devotion to my country, (enchanting me with her captivating name,) almost, if I may say so, expatriated me. Other virtues, however, join their voices to assure me, that wherever we prosper in rectitude there is our country. In ending my letter, let me obtain from you this favour, that if you find any parts of it incorrectly written, and without stops, you will impute it to the boy who writes for me, who is utterly ignorant of Latin, and to whom I am forced (wretchedly enough) to repeat every single syllable that I dictate. I still rejoice that your merit as an accomplished man, whom I knew as a youth of the highest expectation, has advanced you so far in the honourable favour of your prince. For your prosperity in every other point you have

parish, under the year 1665, two persons are recorded, as I have been obligingly informed by letter from the resident clergyman, to have died of *the sickness*; [so the Plague was denominated;] one of whom is called a stranger, and died at the Manor House.

both my wishes and my hopes. Farewell. *London*, August 15, 1666."

After the poem had been made ready for publication, it is said to have been in danger of being suppressed by the licenser, who imagined that, in the noble <sup>m</sup> simile of the sun in an eclipse, he had discovered treason. The licenser's hesitation is a striking example of Lord Lyttleton's acute remark, that " <sup>a</sup> the politicks of Milton at that time brought his poetry into disgrace; for it is a rule with the English; *they see no good in a man whose politicks they dislike.*" \* Licensed, however, the poem was; and Milton sold his copy, April 27, 1667, to Samuel Simmons, for an immediate payment of five pounds. But the agreement with the bookseller entitled him to a conditional payment of five pounds more when thirteen hundred copies should be sold of the first edition; of the like sum after the same number of the second edition; and of another five pounds after the same sale of the third. The number of each edition was not to exceed fifteen hundred copies. It first appeared in 1667, in ten books. In the history of *Paradise Lost*, Dr. Johnson has observed that a relation of minute circumstances will rather gratify than fatigue. Countenanced by such authority, I

<sup>m</sup> B. i. 594, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Dialogues of the Dead. Dial. xiv.

\* Mr. Malone observes, that the poem was entered in the Stationers' Book by Samuel Symons, Aug. 20. 1669. See the Life of Dryden, 1800, vol. i. part i. p. 114. The title-pages of 1667 and 1668, however, bear in front "*Licensed and Entered according to Order.*" I have seen several copies with the title-page of 1669, in which this notification is omitted.

proceed to state that the poem, in a small quarto form, and plainly but neatly bound, was advertised at the price of <sup>p</sup> three shillings. The titles were varied, in order to circulate the edition, in 1667, 1668, and 1669. Of these there were no less than <sup>a</sup> five. In two years the sale gave the poet a right to his second payment, for which the receipt was signed April 26, 1669. The second edition was not given till 1674; it was printed in small octavo; and, by a judicious division of the seventh and tenth, contained twelve books. He lived not to receive the payment stipulated for this impression. The third edition was published in 1678; and his widow, to whom the copy was then to devolve, agreed with Simmons, the printer, to receive eight pounds for her right, according to her receipt dated December 21, 1680. Simmons had already covenanted to transfer the right, for twenty-five pounds, to Brabazon Aylmer, the bookseller; and Aylmer sold to Jacob Tonson half, August 17, 1683, and the other half, March 24, 1690, at a price considerably advanced.

Of the first edition it has been observed by Dr. Johnson, that "the call for books was not in Milton's age what it is at present;—the nation had been satisfied from 1623 to 1664, that is, forty-one years, with only two editions of the works of Shakspeare, which probably did not together make one thousand copies. The sale of thirteen hundred copies in two years, in opposition to so much recent enmity, and to a style

<sup>p</sup> In Clavel's Catalogue of all the books printed in England, since the fire of London, in 1666 to the end of 1672. Fol. Lond. 1673.

<sup>a</sup> See the list of Editions at the end of the Life.

of verification new to all and disgusting to many, was an uncommon example of the prevalence of genius." This remark will always be read with peculiar gratification, as it exonerates our forefathers from the charge of being inattentive to the glorious blaze of a luminary, before which so many stars "dim their ineffectual light." The demand, as Dr. Johnson notices, did not immediately encrease; because "many more readers than were supplied at first, the nation did not afford. Only three thousand were sold in eleven years; for it forced its way without assistance; its admirers did not dare to publish their opinion; and the opportunities, now given, of attracting notice by advertisements were then very few. But the reputation and price of the copy still advanced, till the Revolution put an end to the secrecy of love, and *Paradise Lost* broke into open view with sufficient security of kind reception. Fancy can hardly forbear to conjecture with what temper Milton surveyed the silent progress of his work, and marked its reputation stealing its way in a kind of subterraneous current through fear and silence. I cannot but conceive him calm and confident, little disappointed, not at all dejected, relying on his own merit with steady consciousness, and waiting, without impatience, the vicissitudes of opinion, and the impartiality of a future generation."

Milton indeed may be considered as an illustrious example of *patient merit*. But his admirers were not long silent. Witness the spirited verses of Barrow and Marvell, prefixed to the second edition of the poem: Witness also the celebrated hexastich of Dryden, which accompanies the fourth edition; as

well as the liberal acknowledgement of his obligations to *Paradise Lost*, made almost immediately after the death of Milton in the preface to his *State of Innocence*: “ I cannot, without injury to the deceased author of *Paradise Lost*, but acknowledge, that this poem has received its entire foundation, part of the design and many of the ornaments from him. What I have borrowed will be so easily discerned from my mean productions, that I shall not need to point the reader to the places ; and truly I should be sorry, for my own sake, that any one should take the pains to compare them together, *the original being undoubtedly one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime poems, which either this age or nation has produced.*”

Among the circumstances of Milton's posthumous renown may be mentioned, to the no small diversion of the reader, the *curious commendation* contained in the Preface to “ Poems in Two Parts; First, an Interlocutory Discourse concerning the Creation, Fall, and Recovery of Man. Secondly, A Dialogue between Faith and a Doubting Soul. By Samuel Slater. Lond. 1679.” The author of these poems seems to have thought the great bard, not however without some animadversion of his *correcter pen*, to have been worthy his imitation ! “ I was much taken” he says, “ with *learned Mr. Milton's cast and fancy* in his book, [the *Paradise Lost*.] Him I have followed much in his method, and have been otherwise beholding to him, how much I leave thee [Gentle Reader !] to judg : but I have used a *more plain and familiar stile, because I conceive it most proper !*” These compositions, the children of preposterous con-

ceit, would have been a valuable addition to the common-place books of Bayes, who also “*loved to write familiarly!*” To the fame of Milton an elegant poetical tribute was paid in the succeeding year by a writer, whom I have <sup>r</sup> conjectured to be Francis Cradock, a member of the same club with Milton. The opinion and encouragement of Lord Somers soon afterwards occasioned the handsome folio edition of the *Paradise Lost*, which was published by <sup>s</sup> subscription, in 1688; to which is prefixed a list of more than five hundred subscribers, among whom are all the most distinguished characters of that period. Atterbury exerted himself with zealous activity in the promotion of this honourable publication. In the preface to the *Second Part of Waller’s Poems*, written by Atterbury, and printed in 1690; and in that to *The Design of part of the book of Ecclesiastes*, a poem by <sup>t</sup> W. W., printed in 1691, Milton’s rejection of rhyme is judiciously commended. In 1692, another ornamented edition of *Paradise Lost*, in folio, was published; and a third, with the copious and very learned commentary of Patrick Hume, in 1695. These evidences of encreasing celebrity, within thirty

<sup>r</sup> See the Commendatory Verses on Milton in the present edition of his Poetical Works.

<sup>s</sup> Dr. Johnson has said, that Dryden’s *Virgil* was the first considerable work published by subscription. But this edition of *Paradise Lost* preceded the English *Virgil* some years. Mace’s *Musick’s Monument*, fol. 1676, was published by subscription. Perhaps Minheu’s *Guide into Tongues*, fol. 1617, may be considered as the first book, of which the sale was promoted by this method.

<sup>t</sup> William Wollaston, author of the Religion of Nature delineated: the poem he endeavoured to suppress. See Biog. Brit. Art. *Wollaston*

years after the first appearance of the poem, I thought too remarkable to overpass; especially as the popularity of *Paradise Lost* has been supposed to be very confined, till the appearance of Addison's criticism.

Such were the proofs, relating to this subject, which I had discovered when I first published this account of Milton. I have since found more. Nor may the production of them be thought unnecessary, as the unpopularity of Milton in the seventeenth century is yet believed. A very ingenious<sup>u</sup> author has lately asserted, that Cowley and Cleveland were more popular than Milton. The assertion has been questioned in an acute criticism, of which the foundation is just; as the facts already stated, and those which I shall add, evince. Nor will Mr. Southey regard, without pleasure, the evidences that *Paradise Lost* could be well appreciated even under the Stuarts. "The \* assertion that Cowley was more popular in his day than Milton, we do not believe, in the more respectable sense of the word. If popularity mean the opinion of women and children, or the lower class of readers, the novels of the circulating library are at this day more popular than *Paradise Lost*. But, among good judges, Milton was early and classically worshipped. He was early translated into foreign languages,—which Cowley, we believe, never was. At all events, the popularity of Cowley is to be regarded as an exception to the rule—that demerit will not be overrated in its own

<sup>u</sup> Mr. Southey, in the Preface to his *Specimens of the later English Poets*, p. xxvii.

\* *Edinburgh Review*, No. xxi. p. 32.



day,—than a confirmation of the contrary. Cleveland was never so popular as Milton, in his own day, or in any other. The supposed neglect of Milton among his contemporaries has been greatly exaggerated. Neither the silence of Dryden, nor the political malignity of Winstanly, prove that the seventeenth century was not deeply sensible of his excellence, any more than Voltaire's laughing at *Paradise Lost* proves his being contemned by the moderns." To illustrate what is here advanced, I mention first that an examination of Milton's blank verse, and a proper tribute to the sweetness of his language in the *Paradise Lost*, occur in Dr. Woodford's *Paraphrase upon the Canticles*, published in 1679. Next, in the poetical translation of Jacob Catfius's *Self-Conflict*, published in 1680, the anonymous translator observes, in the Preface, that "it were a pity gold should be rejected, because presented unto thee in a homely vessel; or sovereign counsel, because not sung to thee by a Cowley, or a Milton; the very footsteps of either of which thou art not likely here to find." But, notwithstanding this modest depreciation of his labour, the translator has employed, with good effect, many Miltonick expressions. We find Milton again the admired theme of an unknown author in 1683, who, in his work entitled *The Situation of Paradise found out*, cites with taste and judgement several passages from the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*; and, by the application of a remark in S. Athanasius, confirms the <sup>2</sup> opinion that Milton, in his description of Para-

<sup>1</sup> See also vol. ii. of the present edition of Milton's Poetical Works, pp. 277, 278.

<sup>2</sup> See my Note on *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 256.

dise, consulted the Fathers. “ \* As to the easterly situation of this garden,” says the author, “ S. Athanasius has a fancy thereupon extraordinary poetical, and which I take to be more expressive of its riches, and its pleasures, than those descriptions the most fanciful poets can give of their Elysium; viz. ‘ That from hence about the Oriental parts of India there are every where such fragrant scents, and that the spices receive their odours, as if blown from that happy place:’ Which is good poetry enough, though too light for him: And Milton has it,

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‘ Now gentle gales,  
 ‘ Fanning their odoriferous wings disperse  
 ‘ Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole  
 ‘ Those balmy spoils.’——”

From the happy illustration of this beautiful passage, I proceed to notice a <sup>b</sup> translation of the first book of *Paradise Lost* so early as in 1685; and I will close the publick expressions of regard and respect for Milton, under the Stuarts, with a citation from *Poems to the Memory of Edmond Waller, Esq.* By several hands, in 1688, where Milton obtains, from an anonymous writer, this commendation by comparison:

Now, in soft notes, like dying swans, he’d sing,  
 Now tower aloft, like eagles on the wing;  
 Speak of adventurous deeds in such a strain,  
 As all but Milton would attempt in vain;  
 And only there, where his rapt Muse does tell  
 How in th’ ætherial war th’ Apostate Angels fell.

Of the anecdote, related by Richardson, respecting the celebrity which *Paradise Lost* has been supposed

\* Pages, 23, 24.

<sup>b</sup> See the list of Translations, at the end of this Account.

to owe to Denham, the accurate investigation of Mr. Malone has detected the improbability.

“ ‘ The elder Richardson,” says this acute and learned writer, “ speaking of the tardy reputation of *Paradise Lost*, tells us, (and the tale has been repeated in various Lives of Milton,) that he was informed by Sir George Hungerford, an ancient member of parliament, many years previous to 1734,) that Sir John Denham came into the House one morning with a sheet of *Paradise Lost* wet from the press, in his hand; and, being asked what it was, he replied, ‘ *Part of the noblest poem that ever was written in any language or in any age.*’ However, the book remained unknown till it was produced about *two years afterwards* by Lord Buckhurst on the following occasion. That nobleman, in company with Mr. Fleetwood Shephard, (who frequently told the story to Dr. Tancred Robinson, an eminent physician, and Mr. Richardson’s informer,) looking over some books in Little Britain, met with *Paradise Lost*; and, being surprised with some passages in turning it over, bought it. The bookseller requested his Lordship to speak in its favour, if he liked it: for *the impression lay on his hands as waste paper*. Lord Buckhurst, (whom Richardson inaccurately calls the Earl of Dorset, for he did not succeed to that title till some years afterwards,) having read the poem, sent it to Dryden, who in a short time returned it with this answer: ‘ *This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too.*’—Much the same character (adds Mr. Richardson) he gave of it to a north-country gentleman, to whom I mentioned the book, he being a great reader, but not in a right train, coming to town seldom, and keeping little company. Dryden amazed him with speaking loftily of it. ‘ Why, Mr. Dryden, says he, (Sir W. L. told me the thing himself,) ’tis not in rhyme.’ ‘ No; (replied Dryden,) *nor would I have done my Virgil in rhyme, if I was to begin it again.*’—How Sir John Denham should get into his hands one of the sheets of *Pa-*

*Paradise Lost*, while it was working off at the press, it is not very easy to conceive. The proof-sheets of every book, as well as the finished sheets when worked off, previous to publication, are subject to the inspection of no person but the author, or the persons to whom he may confide them; and there is no evidence or probability that any intimacy subsisted between Sir John Denham and Milton. Here then is the first difficulty. The next is, that during a great part of the year 1667, when Milton's poem probably was passing through the press, the knight was disordered in his understanding: But a stronger objection remains behind; for, on examination, it will be found that Denham, who is said to have thus blazoned *Paradise Lost* in the House of Commons, was never in parliament. Let us, however, wave this objection, and suppose this eulogy to have been pronounced in a full House of Commons in 1667, in which year Milton's great poem according to some of the title-pages first appeared, whilst others have the dates of 1668 and 1669. So little effect had Denham's commendation, that we find in *two years afterwards* almost the whole impression lying on the bookseller's hands as waste-paper: during which time Dryden, a poet himself, living among poets, and personally acquainted with Milton, had never seen it! And to crown all, by the original contract between Milton and Simmons, the printer, dated April 27, 1667, it was stipulated, that, whenever *thirteen hundred* books were sold, he should receive five pounds, in addition to the sum originally paid on the sale of the copy: and this second sum of five pounds *was paid* to him, as appears from the receipt, on the 26th of April, 1669: so that, in two years after the original publication, we find that, instead of almost the whole impression then lying on the bookseller's hands, thirteen hundred out of fifteen hundred copies of this poem had been dispersed. Unless, therefore, almost every species of incongruity and contradiction can authenticate a narrative, this anecdote must be rejected as wholly unworthy of credit."

Before I quit the subject of the first appearance of *Paradise Lost*, I must notice a communication, made to the publick<sup>d</sup> not long since by a gentleman possessing the original edition, of the following lines; apparently written by a female on two leaves prefixed to the title-page of his copy, and subscribed at the bottom with this singular remark: “*Dictated by J. M.*” The communicator observes, that the daughter of Milton officiated as his amanuensis; and that, from the remark already mentioned, there is some reason to attribute the lines to the author of *Paradise Lost*. Different female hands, it may be added, appear in the manuscript of Milton, preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge. However, the bondage of rhyme will probably incline some readers to doubt the authenticity of these lines; while several striking sentiments and expressions, and the frequent flow of the verses into each other, may perhaps occasion some also to think them genuine, and that the great poet might have chosen, as an amusement, to employ once more the “jingling sound of like endings.” The subject also had been a favourite theme of Milton. *On Day-Break.*

“ Welcome, bright chorister, to our hemisphere;  
 “ Thy glad approaches tell us Day is near.  
 “ See! how his early dawn creeps o’er yon hill,  
 “ And with his grey-ey’d light begins to fill  
 “ The silent air, driving far from our sight  
 “ The starry regiment of frighted Night;  
 “ Whose pale-fac’d regent, Cynthia, paler grows,  
 “ To see herself pursu’d by conquering foes;

<sup>d</sup> In the Gentleman’s Magazine for August 1786, p. 698,

" Yet daring stays behind, to guard the rear  
 " Of her black armies whither without fear  
 " They may retreat, till her alternate course  
 " Bring her about again with rallied force.  
 " Hark! how the lion's terror loud proclaims  
 " The gladsome tidings of day's gentle beams,  
 " And, long-kept silence breaking, rudely wakes  
 " The feather'd train, which soon their concert makes,  
 " And with unmeasur'd notes, unnumber'd lays,  
 " Do joyfully salute the lightsome rays.  
 " But hearken yonder, where the louder voice  
 " Of some keen hunter's horn hath once or twice  
 " Reheated out its blast, which seems to drill  
 " Th' opposing air, and with its echo fill.  
 " Thither let's hie; and see the toilsome hound,  
 " Willing, pursues his labour, till he 'has found  
 " Some hope of what he follows, then with fresh  
 " And pleasing clamour tells it to the rest.

" O Thou, who sometimes by most sacred voice  
 " Father of Light wert styl'd, let my free choice  
 " (Though all my works be evil, seldom right,)  
 " Shun loving darkness rather than the light.  
 " Let thy essential brightness, with quick glance,  
 " Dart through the foggy mist of ignorance  
 " Into the darken'd intellect, and thence  
 " Dispel whatever clouds o'erspread the sense;  
 " Till, with <sup>e</sup> illuminated eyes, the mind  
 " All the dark corners in itself can find,  
 " And fill them all with radiant light, which may  
 " Convert my gloomy night to sun-shine day.  
 " Though dark, O God! if guarded by thy might  
 " I see with intellectual eyes; the night  
 " To me a noon-tide blaze, illumin'd by  
 " The glorious splendour of thy Majesty!"

\* The printed word is *illumin'd*. An acute writer in the British Critic suggests that the metre requires *illuminated*.

After the publication of *Paradise Lost*, Milton resumed his design of giving an history of his native country. But he proceeded only as far as the Norman conquest. Of this history the first printed copies were mutilated; for the licenser expunged several passages, which, reprobating the pride and superstition of the Monks in the Saxon times, were understood as a concealed satire upon the Bishops in the reign of the second Charles. Milton, however, bestowed a copy of the unlicensed passages on the Earl of Anglesea; which were published in 1681, with a preface, declaring that they originally belonged to the third book of his history, and which have been since inserted in their proper places. The six books, which Milton executed, appeared in 1670.

In 1671, he<sup>f</sup> published the *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*. Of the former poem Phillips has<sup>g</sup> recorded Milton's opinion; not his *preference* of it to *Paradise Lost*, but his<sup>h</sup> mortification to find it censured as infinitely inferior to his former epick production. His *pretended preference* has been<sup>i</sup> recommended by an ingenious writer, with other

<sup>f</sup> At the price, bound, of two shillings and sixpence. Clavel's Catalogue, 1673.

<sup>g</sup> Life of Milton, 1694, p. xxxix.

<sup>h</sup> In a manuscript note, at the end of Toland's Life of Milton, communicated to me by Mr. F. G. Waldron, it is related that *Paradise Regained* was, in the poet's own opinion, the better poem, though it could never obtain to be named with *Paradise Lost*; and that Milton gave this reason for the general dislike, namely, *That the people had a general sense of the loss of Paradise, but not an equal gust for the regaining of it.*

<sup>i</sup> Letters of Literature, 1785, p. 416.

popular tales believed without vouchers, and without probability, to supreme contempt. Uncommon energy of thought, and felicity of composition, as Mr. Hayley observes, are apparent in both the performances of Milton, however different in design, dimension, and effect. And Mr. Dunster, the learned editor of *Paradise Regained* in 1795, has happily advanced the poem from the obscurity, in which it had been too long shrouded; pleading its merits with all the masterly discrimination of an eloquent advocate. Mr. Warton and Mr. Hayley assert, that the poet *planned*, or *began*, it at Chalfont: Mr. Dunster argues, that he probably *finished* it at his temporary residence.

“ \* We may suppose,” he says, “ that Milton remained at Chalfont till towards the Spring of 1666; as it is said he did not return to London until ‘ the sickness was over, and the city was well cleansed, and become safely habitable.’—Ellwood proceeds to inform us, that ‘ when he waited on him afterwards in London, which he seldom failed to do when his occasions led him thither,’ Milton showed him his second poem; and ‘ in a pleasant tone,’ (which to me indicates his own full approbation of his work,) said to him, ‘ This is owing to you, for you put it in my head by the question<sup>1</sup> you put to me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought of.’ It seems therefore nearly certain, that the *whole of the poem* was composed at Chalfont. As it was conceived with fervour, it was, I doubt not, proceeded in ‘ with eager thought.’ This was the characteristick of Milton in composition, as may be collected from his letter to his friend Deodate, (September 2, 1637) where he describes his own

\* Addition to his edit. of *Par. Regained*.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Origin of Paradise Regained*, prefixed to the poem in the 5th vol. of this edition.



temper to be marked with an eagerness to finish whatever he had begun; ‘*meum sic est ingenium, nulla ut mora, nulla quies, nulla ferme illius rei cura, aut cogitatio distineat, quoad pervadam quo feror, et grandem aliquam studiorum meorum quasi periodum conficiam.*’ *Epist. Familiar. vi.* There is also such a high degree of unity, connection, and integral perfection in the whole of this second poem, as indicates it to have been the *uninterrupted* work of one season; and, as I would suppose, the *exclusive* occupation of his divine genius during his residence in Buckinghamshire. To have composed the whole of the poem in that time, would require him to produce only about ten lines a day; and many parts are given so perfectly *con amore*, that I am confident, upon those occasions, he proceeded at a very different rate. That the *Paradise Regained* was not published till five years after the time when I suppose it to have been completed, might be the ground on which Mr. Warton considered it as not being then finished: and yet many other reasons might be assigned for its not being printed sooner. *Paradise Lost*, we know, was finished at least two years before it was printed; and it was not till a year after Milton’s return to London from Chalfont, that the contract with Samuel Simmons for the copy of it was signed, and the first purchase money of five pounds was paid for it. Milton, we find, received the second five pounds two years after; the stipulated number of copies, to entitle him thereto, being then sold. The author probably did not think of going again to the press with his *second* poem, till he saw the requisite sale of the *first* accomplished. *Paradise Regained* might also wait for the completion of its companion, the *Samson*; a work, which furnishes some internal proofs of its having been composed at different periods. In July, 1670, the two poems were licensed, and were printed the year following. In 1670 was printed his *History of England*: so that Milton was not without his occupations between the time of his return to London, in the Spring of 1666, and his procuring the licence for printing his *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* in July 1670. That

he might revise and correct his brief epick previous to this, is very possible: but, that it was composed in its first form at Chalfont, I think, cannot be doubted. Accordingly I regard the little mansion there with no small degree of veneration, as being exclusively the *incunabula* of Milton's *Paradise Regained*. I should approach it as a Tibur or a Tusculum; and should feel myself on classic ground."

For <sup>m</sup> similar reasons the poet's last residence, the house in the Artillery-walk, may appear to his enthusiastick admirers, as Mr. Hayley remarks, consecrated by his genius. I proceed to notice the poem accompanying *Paradise Regained*, the *Samson Agonistes*; in which there are so many severe strictures, clearly pointing at the Restoration, and at the subsequent sufferings of Milton's party, that it has been often wondered it should have been sanctioned with an *imprimatur*. A learned antiquary thus endeavours to account for this indulgence in the licenser: " <sup>n</sup> Hurt by the censures, to which he had subjected himself by his over-refined cavils at *Paradise Lost*, he might be unwilling to renew and encrease the obloquy, by demurring at the appearance of another poem of unquestionable excellence." To his own sufferings also the poet often alludes in this sublime and affecting tragedy. He had before couched his complaint, as well as his unsubdued contempt of regal government, under the concluding sentence of his history: " As the long-suffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous days with the good, so his severity oftentimes exempts not *good men from their share in evil times with the bad*."

<sup>m</sup> See the Note <sup>a</sup> to the Nuncupative Will.

<sup>n</sup> Denne's Hist. of Lambeth Parish, &c. 1795, p. 344.

In 1672, he published his *Artis Logicæ plenior institutio, ad Rami methodum concinnata*. He had, in 1661, given to the publick, for the service of youth, *Accidence commenced Grammar*. These pieces are proofs of that zeal for careful education, which Milton showed throughout his life. To this zeal Dr. Johnson has paid a tribute of applause, not more honourable than just. "To that multiplicity of attainments, and extent of comprehension, that entitle this great author to our veneration, may be added a kind of humble dignity, which did not disdain the meanest services to literature. The epick poet, the controvertist, the politician, having already descended to accommodate children with a book of rudiments, now, in the last years of his life, composed a book of Logick, for the initiation of students in philosophy." Of his book of Logick there was a second edition in the following year.

In 1673, his *Treatise Of true Religion, Heresie, Schism, Toleration, and what best means may be used against the growth of Popery*, was published. In this discourse there are some passages, which show that Milton had altered his opinion, since his younger days, respecting certain points of doctrine. That regard for the Holy Writings, which always predominated in his mind, is also particularly observable in it. "Let not," he says, the countryman, the tradesman, the lawyer, the physician, the statesman, excuse himself by his much business, from the studious reading of the Bible." This advice he offers as the best preservative against Popery. His principle of toleration, as Dr. Johnson observes, is agreement in the sufficiency of the Scriptures; and he extends it

to all who, whatever their opinions are, profess to derive them from the Sacred Books. In the same year he reprinted his juvenile poems with some additions, and with the Tractate on Education. Notwithstanding the publick avowal of his opposition to Popery, the infamous Titus Oates had the impudence to assert, not long afterwards, that "Milton was a known \* frequenter of a Popish Club."

In 1674, the last year of his laborious life, he published his *Familiar Letters in Latin*, to which he added some *Academical Exercises*. His employment of the press closed for ever in a translation of the † *Latin Declaration of the Poles in favour of John the third*, their heroick sovereign. He had now been a long sufferer by the gout; and in July, considering his end to be approaching, he informed his brother Christopher, who was then a bencher in the Inner Temple, that he wished to dictate to him the disposition of his property. The recent discovery of this Nuncupative Will minutely illustrates the domestick manners of the poet. To this account of his life it is subjoined, entire, with the notes of Mr. Warton. Milton died on † Sunday the 8th of

\* Dedication or address prefixed to the true Narrative of the Horrid Plot, &c. of the Popish Party, by T. Oates, D. D. fol. Lond. 1679.

† The Biographical Dictionary, of 1798, calls this piece a translation from the *Dutch*. See vol. 10. p. 465. But the title-page of the performance announces it thus: "Now faithfully translated from the *Latin Copy*."

‡ Mr. Hayley says, on Sunday the 15th of November. But it appears, by the Register of St. Giles's Cripplegate, that he was buried on the 12th. "L. John Melton, gentleman. Consumption. Chancell. 12. Nov. 1674." Melton has been altered,

November following. His death was so easy, that the time of his expiration was unperceived by the attendants in his room. No Muse's tear was found to grace publicly his obsequies. Fifteen years afterwards indeed there did appear ' "A propitiatory sacrifice to the ghost of J. M. by way of Pastoral, in a dialogue between Thyrsis and Corydon;" addressed by the author "to his dear brother Mr. Aspl Wyndham." This poem, however, seems to have been written (though not published before 1689,) soon after the death of Milton. It is of considerable length, and of very unequal execution. There are passages in it, however, with which the reader of taste and feeling may be pleased; as with the following, where the author, having described the poetical abilities of Milton "from his cradle to his tomb," thus represents the blind bard in

— "his age and fruit together ripe,  
 "Of which blind Homer only was the type:  
 "Tiresias like, he mounted up on high,  
 "And scorn'd the filth of dull mortality;

in fresher ink, to Milton. L. denotes the liberty of the parish. Mr. Steevens supposed the entry to have been made by the undertaker, who knew nothing more of Milton than that he was dead. Aubrey says, "He was buried at the upper end in St. Giles Cripplegate chancell," and that, "when the two steps to the Communion Table were rayed, (Nov. 1621,) his Stone was removed."

† The book, in which this poem occurs, is little known; and has been obligingly pointed out to me by the ingenious and acute continuator of Jonson's *Sad Shepherd*, Mr. F. G. Waldron. It is entitled, "Poems and Translations written upon several occasions, and to several persons. By a late Scholar of Eaton. London, 1689." Small 8vo. The poem will be found in p. 110, &c.

“ Convers’d with gods, and grac’d their royal line,  
 “ All ecstasie, all rapture, all divine!”

Again, deploring his loss, the poet ably notices Milton’s rejection of rhyme; and calls the object of his grief,

“ Daphnis, the great reformer of our isle!  
 “ Daphnis, the patron of the Roman stile!  
 “ Who first to fence converted doggerel rhimes,  
 “ The Muses’ bells took off, and stopt their chimes;  
 “ On surer wings, with an immortal flight,  
 “ Taught us how to believe, and how to write!”

Towards the conclusion, is this spirited prediction of Milton’s increasing glory:

“ Even tombs of stone in time will wear away;  
 “ Brass pyramids are subject to decay;  
 “ But lo! the poet’s fame shall brighter shine  
     “ In each succeeding age,  
     “ Laughing at the baffled rage  
 “ Of envious enemies and destructive time.”

Milton left in manuscript, *A brief History of Moscovia, and of other less-known Countries lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay*, which was printed in 1682. His manuscript *System of Theology*, and *An Answer to a Libel upon himself*, (which Phillips supposes him to have suppressed from a proper contempt of the libeller,) are supposed to have perished. Of the following tract the biographers of Milton have taken no notice: “An Argument, or Debate in Law, of the great Question concerning the Militia; as it is now settled by Ordinance of both the Houses of Parliament. By J. M. London, 1642.” 4°. On the title page of this pamphlet, (now in the possession of the Marquis of Stafford,) Milton’s

*elder Brother in Comus*, the second Earl of Bridgewater, had written the name of the poet as the author. At the end of Phillips's *Life of Milton*, with manuscript remarks by Oldys, communicated to me by Mr. Reed, this tract was also noticed among Oldys's additions to the publications of Milton. The same remark is made in a \* volume of Tracts, belonging to the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth Palace, with additions apparently from a contemporary writer; additions, indeed, not exhibiting genuine claims to credit, yet curious and amusing; and in the following order.

1. John Milton's Speech for unlicens'd Printing.

2. *his Salve for y<sup>e</sup> Blind. a def: of y<sup>e</sup> Parlam<sup>t</sup>.*

3. *his Argument concerning y<sup>e</sup> Militia.*

5. *his Jus Populi.*

6. Εἰκωνοκλᾶσις, his Answer to y<sup>e</sup> Kings Book.

7. his Tenure of Kings.

4. The Parlam<sup>t</sup>. Petition conc: y<sup>e</sup> Militia, & y<sup>e</sup> Kings Answ<sup>r</sup>.

The numbers 5, 6, and 7, have been altered by the writer of the preceding contents, as he had omitted to put number 4 in its proper place. And 5 appears to have first stood without *his* before *Jus*; but is added evidently by the same hand. After the *Jus Populi* were also the following words, *by some supposed to be his*; but these words are crossed through with the pen, and *his* prefixed, as I have before stated. The initials J. M. Esquire are printed in the title-page of the *second* of these tracts, and the remarker has written under them *J. Milton*; as

\* In quarto, numbered I. 5. 23.

he has also placed in the title-page of the *fifth*, which exhibits no name or initials, the letters J. M. But however careful and earnest this remarker has been, I am convinced he is mistaken, in attributing these two pamphlets to Milton. They exhibit indeed (particularly the latter) many energetick sentiments and expressions. The former, printed in 1643, opens with this pithy avowal to the Reader: "It is not rhetorick but reason can satisfie the judgment. The former may cozen the conscience, and dazle simple men: the latter onely can satisfie the wise, and lead to truth. A rough diamond is precious, when the best wrought glaſs is deſpicable: the painted oratory which beſt pleaſeth the vulgar, ill ſuits with the well-becoming gravity of a ſtatiff." But, very ſoon afterwards, the author tells us that the unhappy ſtate of things "hath inforc'd a pen *ever before ſtill* to expoſe itſelfe to publike cenſure." The author therefore was not Milton. In the latter of theſe Tracts, published in 1644, there is a paſſage ſo minutely concurring with Milton's obſervations on the ſame ſubject, as might almoſt lead the reader to admit the juſtice of the remarker's designation. "The nature of Man being depraved by the fall

\* Jus Populi, pp. 42, 43. Compare Milton's reflection on the political union of the fallen Angels, *Par. Loſt*, B. ii. 496.

" O ſhame to Men! Devil with Devil damn'd  
 " Firm concord holds; Men only diſagree  
 " Of creatures rational, though under hope  
 " Of heavenly grace: and, God proclaiming peace,  
 " Yet live in hatred, enmity, and ſtrife,  
 " Among themſelves, and levy cruel wars,  
 " Waſting the earth, each other to deſtroy;



of Adam, miseries of all sorts broke in upon us in throngs, together with sin; insomuch that no creature is now so uncivill and untame, or so unfit either to live with or without societie, as Man. Wolves and beares can better live without wolves and beares, than Man can without Man; yet neither are wolves nor beares so fell, so hostile, and so destructive to their own kinde, as Man is to his. In some respects, Man is more estranged from politicall union than Devils are: for by reason of naturall disparitie, the reprobate Angels continue without dissolution of order, and thin that confusion amongst themselves which they endeavour to promote amongst Men. But amongst Men, nothing but cursed enmitie is to be seen." However, in a preceding page, the favourite topick of Milton's literary employment in 1644 is mentioned in such a manner as at once destroys the possibility of his having written the treatise. The author is speaking of *divorce* and *repudiation*: " " And that," he says, " seemes discountenanced by our Saviour, except in case of Adultery." This was not the doctrine of Milton.

There is in the Library of Trinity College Dublin a volume of Milton's pamphlets, in the \* underwritten

" As if (which might induce us to accord)

" Man had not hellish foes enow besides,

" That, day and night, for his destruction wait."

\* Jus Populi, p. 31.

\* 1. Of Reformation touching Church Discipline, &c.

2. Of Prelaticall Episcopacy.

3. The Reason of Church Government, &c.

4. Animadversious upon the Remonstrants Defence, &c.

5. An Apology against a Pamphlet, &c.

order, which he had presented to the learned Patrick Young, Charles the first's librarian; to whom he has prefixed a brief address concluding with an expression similar to that in *Paradise Lost*, of ' finding fit audience, though few;—" *z paucis hujusmodi lectoribus contentus.*" Whether Milton's avowal of content with a few readers, such as Young, may be thought to favour Mr. <sup>a</sup> Warton's opinion that the prose-works of Milton were never popular, I leave to the reader's decision. But I do not conceive that these prose-works experienced so much contemporary neglect, as we have hitherto been led to believe. I find the diction, by which they are distinguished, thus concisely but strongly commended in 1650: "<sup>b</sup> In truth it is very hard to write good English: and few have attained its height, in this last srie of books, but Mr. Milton."

To these anecdotes of Milton's Prose-works, I may be permitted to subjoin the opinion which, generally

6. The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.
7. The Judgement of Martin Bucer.
8. Colasterion.
9. Tetrachordon.
10. Areopagitica.

<sup>y</sup> Par. Lost, B. vii. 31.

<sup>z</sup> The address is written on the margin of the first title-page in the volume, part of which has been cut off in the binding. Mr. Cooper Walker who communicated to me the notice of this curiosity, informs me also that, at the top of the page, is written the name of a former possessor, Matt. Pilkington, Stamford, 1693.

<sup>a</sup> In his concluding note on Milton's Ode to Rouse.

<sup>b</sup> An Introduction to the Teutonick Philosophie, &c. By C. Hotham, Fellow of Peter House, Englished by D. F. 12mo. 1650. Preface.

speaking, I entertain of them. Mr. Warton \* has treated the prose of Milton, both English and Latin, with almost unrelenting severity; conceding only to the *Treatise on Education* and the *Areopagitica* the meed of commendation.

To such decisions I cannot subscribe. At the same time I reproach not the dislike, and deprecate only the acrimonious opposition, of others, to my own opinion; persuaded, however, that I shall not want the support of numbers, when I assert that there are various passages in Milton's prose, besides the *Treatise on Education* and the *Areopagitica*, which seem entitled to the praise of the most impressive eloquence; and that, in his Latin performances, there are abundant examples of pure as well as animated style. The accurate scholar rarely ceases indeed to be visible either in the politician, in the controversialist, or in the secretary. Perhaps his English style is, in general, too learned. It is observed by an acute critick, that, "if we allow to Hooker and Milton occasional majesty and strength, and sometimes a peculiar felicity of expression, it must yet be admitted, that, though using pure English words, the elaboration and inversion of their periods are such as to create, in the mere English reader, no small difficulty in the comprehension of their meaning; a fault surely of the most serious nature, and ever productive of aversion and fatigue." Of his *History of England* Warburton has said, that "it is written with great simplicity, contrary to his custom

\* In his note, ut supra.

\* Drake's *Essays, &c. of English Style*, vol. ii. p. 39.

in his prose-works; and is the better for it. But he sometimes rises to a surprising grandeur in the sentiment and expression, as at the conclusion of the second book, *Henceforth we are to stcer, &c.* I never saw any thing equal to this, but the conclusion of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World." That Milton may be found virulent in these civil and religious speculations, will not, perhaps, be denied: His pen, dipped as it sometimes is, in the gall of puritanism, hurries him into the violence of rage; and he then condemns without mercy, as he judges without candour. But, at other times, his pages breathe the sweetest language of sensibility; the abusive spirit, which the turbulence of the times excited, sinks into calmness; and, without subscribing to his political sentiments, we are led to admire the uncommon felicity of his expression.

The hand of Milton may be often discovered in the publication of his nephew, Edward Phillips, entitled "*Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum, or A compleat Collection of the Poets, especially the most eminent, of all ages, &c.*" Lond. 1675." Among many criticisms in this volume, which must be attributed to Milton, those on Shakspeare and Marlow are eminently conspicuous. " ' Such criticisms," Mr. Warton remarks, " were not common after the

\* Kennet, in his Register, mentions this work as published in 1660, p. 321. See also Dr. Farmer's Catalogue, p. 178, where a copy of this date also occurs. But the Imprimatur for Phillips's work is dated Sep. 14. 1674. And therefore the date of 1660 cannot belong to this book.

Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. iii. p. 440.

Milton appears. But of Milton not a single line will be found in this collection. The Index indeed mentions "Directions to a Painter, (concerning the Dutch War,) said to be written by Sir John Denham, but believed to be written by Mr. Milton, p. 24." But, when we turn to the page, we find the poem, worthy only the lowest poetaster, ascribed simply, but doubtless as unjustly, to Denham. Fenton, the editor of *Paradise Lost* in 1725, has printed in a Miscellany which he published, called *The Oxford Miscellany and Cambridge Poems*, a loose epigram under the name of Milton, which had long before appeared among the poems of Lord Rochester. On slender grounds Peck has attributed to Milton the translation of Buchanan's *Baptistes*, which appeared in 1641, with the following title: "Tyrannical Government anatomized, or, A Discourse concerning evil Counselors: being the Life and Death of John the Baptist, and presented to the King's most excellent Majesty, by the author." Aubrey and Wood, from different motives, would not have forbore to notice so remarkable a production, if it had proceeded from the pen of Milton. This translation has been "supposed, with great probability, to have been intended as a hint, to Charles the first, of the danger he then incurred from the counsels of some about him: and the history of the Baptist, who lost his head by the instigation of Herodias, seems figuratively to glance at the death of Lord Strafford, and at the influence of the Queen. Peck might have noticed a

political pamphlet, " published in the following year, " by J. M.:" of which the royal counsellors are the principal theme. From numerous examples I will cite one: " It is the King's crown that is aimed at, and not onely so, but even the very dethroning of him, and his whole posterity; and in truth so it is, but by *his Majesties evill Councillors*; who, to magnifie themselves, intend the ruin of the Commonwealth: And is not that in effect a dethroning of his Majesty? All that I shall say is but this: No Government more blest or happie, *if not abused by the advice of vile and malignant Counsellours*, p. 3." From the following passage some readers may suspect J. M., the author of this pamphlet, to be Milton: " Freedome, as it is a great mercy, so it ought of temporal blessings, next to our lives, to receive the greatest estimate; the slavery of the body is the usher to the thraldome of conscience; and if we foolishly surrender up this, the other will not be long after!" p. 12." But, in p. 20, there is sufficient proof, that Milton could not have written it: " What have we to do with Aristocracy, or Democracy? God be blessed, we nor know, nor desire, *any other government than that of Monarchy!*" Peck, therefore, if he had seen this pamphlet, found that, notwithstanding it harmonized in a considerable degree with the subject of the poetical translation, it could not be rendered subservient to his hypothesis. Milton, in the account he gives of himself, appears indeed to have been no

\* Entitled, " A Reply to the Answer (printed by his Majesties command at Oxford) to a printed Booke intituled ' Observations upon some of his Majesties late Answers and Expresses.' By J. M. London, printed for M. Walbancke, 1642." 4°.

friend to translations: "I never could delight in long citations, much less in whole translations; whether it be natural disposition or education in me, or that my mother bore me a speaker of what God made mine own, and not a translator\*." He is said to have declined translating Homer.

Of literary assistance, afforded by Milton to literary friends, we have no anecdotes. I conjecture, however, that the younger Lawrence, to whom he has addressed an excellent Sonnet, had at least profited by his discourse; for Lawrence has given to the world a treatise on a subject, of which Milton was particularly fond: "Of our Communion and Warre with Angels. Printed in 1646." The Sonnet records their friendly visits. Lawrence lived in the neighbourhood of Horton. To Lawrence, as to Milton, the "† *Tuscan* song" seems to have been a principal delight. We may reasonably then suppose, that they sometimes conversed upon the remarkable effusions of the "‡ *Tuscan* muse, (among other authorities,) on the guardianship of Angels; that Milton perhaps acknowledged the hints he had derived from his beloved poetry; and that the conversation encouraged Lawrence in his design.

\* Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 407, ed. 1698.

† See the Sonnet, ver. 12, and the note on the Sonnet.

‡ The Addresses of the Italian Muse *All' Angelo Custode* are frequent. See "Rime del M. A. M. Negrifoli, Vineg. 1552," p. 129, and "Sonetti di Diversi Accademici Sanesi, Sien. 1608," pp. 136, 200, 239, &c. I might also add the frequent introduction of a *Spirit* or *Angel* as the *annunziatore* to the early Italian dramas. See Milton's Verses addressed to Leonora Baroni, his prologue to *Comus*, and the same poem throughout, .

The remains of Milton were attended to the grave by “ ‘ all his learned and great friends in London, not without a friendly concourse of the vulgar.” He was buried next his father in the chancel of St. Giles, Cripplegate. In August, 1790, the spot, where his body had been deposited, was opened ; and a corpse, hastily supposed to be his, was exposed to publick view. A Narrative of the disinterment of the coffin, and of the treatment of the corpse, was published by Philip Neve, Esq. The Narrative was immediately and ably answered in the St. James’s Chronicle, in Nine Reasons why it is improbable that the coffin, lately dug up in the Parish Church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, should contain the reliques of Milton. Mr. Neve added a Postscript to his Narrative. But all his labour appears to have been employed in an imaginary cause. The late Mr. Steevens, who particularly lamented the indignity which the nominal ashes of the poet sustained, has intimated in his ‘ manuscript remarks on this Narrative and Postscript, that the disinterred corpse was supposed to be that of a *female*, and that the minutest examination of the fragments could not disprove, if it did not confirm, the supposition. Mr. Lofft, noticing the burial of the poet in St. Giles’s church, has eloquently censured “ ‘ the fordid mischief committed in it, and

‘ Toland’s Life of Milton, prefixed to the edition of Milton’s Prose-works, printed (not at Amsterdam as asserted in the title-page,) but at London, in 1698, fol. p. 46.

‘ Now in the possession of James Bindley, Esq; by whom I have been favoured with the perusal of them.

‘ Preface to his edition of the first book of Paradise Lost, 1792, p. xxx.



the market made of the eagerness with which curiosity or admiration prompted persons to possess themselves of his supposed remains, which, however, there is reason to believe, far from being Milton's, were the bones of a person *not of the same age or sex*. It were to be wished that neither superstition, affectation, idle curiosity, or avarice, were so frequently invading the silence of the grave. Far from honouring the illustrious dead, it is rather outraging the common condition of humanity, and last melancholy state in which our present existence terminates. Dust and ashes have no intelligence to give, whether beauty, genius, or virtue, informed the animated clay. A tooth of Homer or Milton will not be distinguished from one of a common mortal; nor a bone of Alexander acquaint us with more of his character than one of Bucephalus. Though the dead be unconcerned, the living are neither benefited nor improved: decency is violated, and a kind of instinctive sympathy infringed, which, though it ought not to overpower reason, ought not without it, and to no purpose, to be superseded. But whether the remains of that body which once was Milton's, or those of any other person were thus exposed and set to sale, death and dissolution have had their empire over these. The spirit of his immortal works survives invulnerable, and must survive. These are his best image, these the reliques which a rational admiration may cherish and revere!"

It has been observed that the original stone, laid on the grave of Milton, was " removed not many

years after his interment. Nor were his remains honoured by any other memorial in Cripplegate church, till the year 1793; when, by the munificence of the late Mr. Whitbread, an animated marble bust, the sculpture of Bacon, under which is a plain tablet, recording the dates of the poet's birth and death, and of his father's decease, was erected in the middle aisle. *To the Author of Paradise Lost* a similar tribute of respect had been paid, in 1737, by Mr. Benson; who procured his bust to be admitted, where once his name had been deemed a profanation, into Westminster Abbey. And the reception of the monument into this venerable edifice became immediately the theme of the muses <sup>2</sup>.

Milton, in his youth, is said to have been extremely <sup>3</sup> handsome. He was called the Lady of his

<sup>2</sup> By the spirited lines of Dr. George, which are referred to, at the close of vol. 7, and which have been also ascribed, as I have been informed, to the Hon. Thomas Townshend, father of the late Lord Sidney: and by the elegant verses of Vincent Bourne, noticed in the same volume, which were supposed to be written by Mr. Keith, but which will be found in the edition of Bourne's Poems printed in 1772, though in an earlier edition which I have seen, I do not meet with them.

<sup>3</sup> The first published portrait of Milton was that by Marshall, prefixed to the edition of the juvenile poems in 1645. With the palpable dissimilitude of this portrait Milton was justly displeased. See the Note *In Effigiei Sculptorem*, vol. vii. p. 303. In the year 1670, there was another plate, by Faithorne, from a drawing in crayons by Faithorne, prefixed to his *History of Britain*, with this legend; "Gul. Faithorne ad vivum delin. et sculpsit. Joannis Miltoni effigies, Ætat. 62. 1670." It is also prefixed to the edition of his *Prose Works* in 1698. It has been observed, that this engraving is not in Faithorne's best manner. The print has

College; an appellation which Mr. Hayley says he

been several times copied. By an ingenious young artist a new drawing was taken from Faithorne's picture, (supposed to be the best likeness extant of the poet, and for which he sat at the age of sixty-two,) by the kind permission of William Baker, Esq. in whose possession it now is; from which an engraving was made for my first edition of Milton's poetical works. From the same picture the neat engraving in the present edition is also made. Faithorne's print is copied by W. Dolle, before Milton's *Logick*, 1672. Dolle's print is likewise prefixed to the second edition of *Paradise Lost*. Faithorne was also copied afterwards by Robert White, and next by Vertue. Mr. Warton has given many other particulars of paintings and engravings of Milton.

"There are four or five original pictures of our author. The first, a half length with a laced ruff, is by Cornelius Jansen, in 1618, when he was only a boy of ten years' old. It had belonged to Milton's widow, his third wife, who lived in Cheshire. This was in the possession of Mr. Thomas Hollis, having been purchased at Mr. Charles Stanhope's sale for thirty one guineas, in June, 1760. Lord Harrington wishing to have the lot returned, Mr. Hollis replied, 'his lordship's whole estate should not repurchase it.' It was engraved by J. B. Cipriani, in 1760. Mr. Stanhope bought it of the executors of Milton's widow, for twenty guineas. The late Mr. Hollis, when his lodgings in Covent-garden were on fire, walked calmly out of the house with this picture by Jansen in his hand, neglecting to secure any other portable article of value. I presume it is now in the possession of Mr. Brand Hollis. Another, which had also belonged to Milton's widow, is in the possession of the Onslow family. This, which is not at all like Faithorne's crayon-drawing, and by some is suspected not to be a portrait of Milton, has been more than once engraved by Vertue: who in his first plate of it, dated 1731, and in others, makes the age twenty-one. This has been also engraved by Houbraken in 1741, and by Cipriani. The ruff is much in the neat style of painting ruffs, about and before 1628. The picture is handsomer than the engravings. This portrait is mentioned in Aubrey's manuscript Life of Milton, 1681, as then belonging to the widow. And he says, 'MEM. Write his name in red letters on his pictures which his widowe has, to preserve them.'

could not relish ; and I may add that he might be

Vertue, in a Letter to Mr. Christian the seal engraver, in the British Museum, about 1720, proposes to ask Prior the poet, whether there had not been a picture of Milton in the late lord Dorset's Collection. The duchess of Portland has [had] a miniature of his head, when young ; the face has a stern thoughtfulness, and, to use his own expression, is *severe in youthful beauty*. Before Peck's *New Memoirs of Milton*, printed 1740, is a pretended head of Milton in exquisite mezzotinto, done by the second J. Faber : which is characteristically unlike any other representation of our author I remember to have seen. It is from a painting given to Peck by sir John Meres of Kirkby-Belers in Leicestershire. But Peck himself knew that he was imposing upon the publick. For having asked Vertue whether he thought it a picture of Milton, and Vertue peremptorily answering in the negative, Peck replied, ' I'll have a scraping from it, however ; and let posterity settle the difference.' Besides, in this picture the left hand is on a book, lettered *Paradiſe Loſt*. But Peck supposes the age about twenty-five, when Milton had never thought of that poem or subject. Peck mentions a head done by Milton himself on board : but it does not appear to be authenticated.

" The Richardsons, and next the Tonsons, [before Mr. Baker,] had the admirable crayon-drawing above-mentioned. About the year 1725, Vertue carried this drawing, with other reputed engravings and paintings of Milton, to Milton's favourite daughter Deborah, a very sensible woman, who died the wife of Abraham Clark a weaver in Spitalfields, in 1727, aged 76. He contrived to have them brought into the room as if by accident, while he was conversing with her. At seeing the drawing, taking no notice of the rest, she suddenly cried out in great surprise, '*O Lord, that is the picture of my father ! How came you by it ?*' And, stroking down the hair of her forehead, added, '*Just so my father wore his hair.*' She was very like Milton. Compare Richardson, *Explan. Notes*, p. xxxvi. This head, by Faithorne, was etched by Richardson the father about 1734, with the addition of a laurel-crown to help the propriety of the motto. It is before the *Explanatory Notes on the Paradise Lost*, by the Richardsons. Lond. 1734. 8vo. The busts prefixed to Milton's *Prose-Works* by Birch 1738, and by Baron 1753, are engraved by Vertue from

less inclined to be pleased with the title, as, at that period,

a bad drawing made by J. Richardson, after an original cast in plaister about fifty. Of this cast Mr. Hollis gave a drawing by Cipriani to Speaker Onslow in 1759. It was executed, perhaps on the publication of the *Defensio*, by one Pierce an artist of some note, the same who did the marble bust of sir Christopher Wren in the Bodleian library, or by Abraham Simon. Mr. Hollis bought it of Vertue. It has been remodelled in wax by Goffet. Richardson the father also etched this bust for *The Poems and Critical Essays* of S. Say, 1745, 4to. But, I believe, this is the same etching that I have mentioned above, to have been made by old Richardson 1734, and which was now lent to Say's editor, 1745, for Say's *Essays*.

"There is, however, another etching of Milton, by Richardson, the younger, before he was blind, and when much younger than fifty, accompanied with six bombast verses. 'Authentick Homer, &c.' The verses are subscribed 'J. R. jun.' The drawings, as well as engravings of Milton by Cipriani, are many. There is a drawing of our author by Deacon: it is taken from a proof-impression on wax of a seal by Thomas Simon, Cromwell's chief mint-master, first in the hands of Mr. Yeo, afterwards of Mr. Hollis. This, a profile, has been lately engraved by Ryland. Mr. Hollis had a small steel puncheon of Milton's head, a full front, for a seal or ring, by the same T. Simon, who did many more of Milton's party in the same way. The medal of Milton struck by Tanner, for auditor Benson, is after the old plaister-bust, and Faithorne's crayon-piece, chiefly the latter. So is the marble bust in the Abbey, by Rysbrack, 1737. Scheemaker's marble bust, for Dr. Mead, and bought at his sale by Mr. Duncombe, was professedly and exactly copied from the plaister-bust. Faithorne's is the most common representation of Milton's head. Either that, or the Onslow picture, are the heads in Bentley's, and Tickell's, and Newton's editions. All by Vertue. Milton's daughter Deborah above-mentioned, the daughter of his first wife, and his amanuensis, told Vertue, that "her father was of a fair complexion, a little red in his cheeks, and light brown lank hair." *Letter to Mr. Christian*, ut sup. MS. Br. Mus.

"Since these imperfect and hasty notices were thrown together, sir Joshua Reynolds has purchased a picture of Milton for one

the appearance of effeminacy was attacked from the

hundred guineas. It was brought to sir Joshua, 1784, by one Mr. Hunt, a printseller and picture-dealer, who bought it of a broker ; but the broker does not know the person of whom he had it. The portrait is dressed in black, with a band ; and the painter's mark and date are ' S. C. 1653.' This is written on the back. ' This picture belonged to Deborah Milton, who was her father's amanuensis : at her death was sold to sir W. Davenant's family. It was painted by Mr. Samuel Cooper, who was painter to Oliver Cromwell, at the time Milton was Latin Secretary to the Protector. The painter and poet were near of the same age ; Milton was born in 1608, and died in 1674, and Cooper was born in 1609, and died in 1672, and were companions and friends till death parted them. Several encouragers and lovers of the fine arts at that time wanted this picture ; particularly Lord Dorset, John Somers esquire, sir Robert Howard, Dryden, Atterbury, Dr. Aldrich, and sir John Denham.' Lord Dorset was probably the lucky man ; for this seems to be the very picture for which, as I have before observed, Vertue wished Prior to search in Lord Dorset's collection. Sir Joshua Reynolds says, ' The picture is admirably painted, and with such a character of nature, that I am perfectly sure it was a striking likeness. I have now a different idea of the countenance of Milton, which cannot be got from any of the other pictures that I have seen. It is perfectly preserved, which shows that it has been shut up in some drawer ; if it had been exposed to the light, the colours would long before this have vanished.' It must be owned, that this miniature of Milton, lately purchased by sir Joshua Reynolds, strongly resembles Vandyke's picture of Selden in the Bodleian library at Oxford : and it is highly probable that Cooper should have done a miniature of Selden as a companion to the heads of other heroes of the commonwealth. For Cooper painted Oliver Cromwell, in the possession of the Frankland family ; and another, in profile, at Devonshire house : Richard Cromwell at Strawberry-hill : Secretary Thurloe, belonging to Lord James Cavendish : and Ireton, Cromwell's general, now or late in the collection of Charles Polhill esq. a descendant of Cromwell. The inference, however, might be applied to prove, that this head is

pulpit: “ \* We live in an age,” says bishop Lake, “wherein it is hard to say, whether in cloathes *mengrow*

Cooper’s miniature of Milton. It has been copied by a female artist, in a style of uncommon elegance and accuracy.”

The genuineness of this miniature, as the portrait of Milton, has been both asserted, and denied, with considerable warmth. See the Gentleman’s Magazine for 1791, pp. 399, 603, 806. The disputants are Lord Hailes and Sir Joshua himself. Most connoisseurs are inclined to believe the portrait to be that of Selden. Sir Joshua Reynolds, who died in 1792, makes the following bequest, however, in his Will, to the Rev. William Mason: “*The miniature of Milton by Cooper.*” See Malone’s Life of Sir J. Reynolds, prefixed to the Works of Sir J. R. vol. i. p. cxviii, 2d edit.

Two miniatures of the poet, and of his mother, were sold, at the sale of the Portland Museum in 1786, for 34 l. See Gent. Mag. 1786, p. 527. In 1792 Mr. Elderton submitted to the publick the outlines of a supposed miniature of the poet in his possession. See Gent. Mag. 1792, p. 17. In 1797 a masterly engraving, from an original picture in the possession of Capel Lofft esq. believed also to be that of Milton, was made by G. Quinton. At West Wycombe Manor-house, in Buckinghamshire, there is a fine portrait of Milton, supposed to be an original. See Langley’s Hist. and Antiq. of the Hundred of Desborough, Co. of Bucks, 1797, p. 417. I have been indebted to the kindness of the late John Charnock jun. esq. of Greenwich, for an excellent original painting, affirmed by some to have been a portrait of Milton, by Dobson, but conjectured by others to have been a performance of Riley, who lived rather too late to delineate Milton. Some have supposed it may be a head of his brother Christopher. It is, however, remarkable, that Mr. Greenlade, a collector of paintings, who resides in Bond-street, London, has a copy of this very painting, which has been called a portrait of the poet. Mr. Waldron is in possession of a painting, which exhibits a likeness of the poet in his middle age. To the modern engravings of the poet may be added an interesting one by Mr. Silvester Harding, from a painting in the possession of the late Lord Oxford.

\* Sermons preached at Wells by bishop Lake, fol. 1629, p. 67.

*more womannish*, or women more mannish!" Milton had a very fine skin and fresh complexion. His hair was of a light brown; and, parted on the foretop, hung down in curls upon his shoulders. His features were regular; and when turned of forty, he has himself told us, he was generally allowed to have had the appearance of being ten years younger. He has also represented himself as a man of moderate stature, neither too lean nor too corpulent; and so far endued with strength and spirit, that, as he always wore a sword, he wanted not, while light revisited his eyes, the skill or the courage to use it. His eyes were of a greyish colour; which, when deprived of sight, did not betray their loss: At first view, and at a small distance, it was difficult to know that he was blind. The testimony of Aubrey respecting the person of Milton is happily expressed: "His harmonicall and ingeniose soul did lodge in a beautiful and well proportioned body." Milton's voice <sup>a</sup> was musically sweet, as his ear was musically correct. Wood describes his deportment to have been affable, and his gait erect and manly, bespeaking courage and undauntedness. Of his figure in his declining days Richardson has left the following sketches. "<sup>b</sup> An ancient clergyman of Dorsetshire, Dr. Wright, found John Milton in a small chamber hung with rusty green, sitting in an elbow chair, and dressed neatly in black, pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty and with chalk stones.—He used also to sit in a gray coarse cloth coat, at the door of his house near Bunhill-fields, in warm

<sup>a</sup> Aubrey says that "he had a delicate tunable voice," and that "he pronounced the letter R very hard."

<sup>b</sup> Life of Milton, 1734, p. iv.



funny weather, to enjoy the fresh air; and so, as well as in his room, received the visits of people of distinguished parts as well as quality."

His domestick habits were those of a sober and temperate student. Of wine, or of any strong liquours, he drank little. In his diet he was rarely influenced by delicacy of choice. He once delighted in walking and using exercise; and appears to have amused himself in botanical pursuits: but, after he was confined by age and blindness, he had a machine to swing in for the preservation of his health. In summer he then rested in bed from nine to four, in winter to five. If, at these hours, he was not disposed to rise, he had a person by his bed-side to read to him. When he first rose, he heard a chapter in the Hebrew Bible, and commonly studied till twelve; then used some exercise for an hour; then dined; <sup>c</sup> afterwards played on the organ or bass-viol, and either sung himself or made his wife sing, who, he said, had a good voice but no ear. It is related that, when educating his nephews, "d he had made them *songsters*, and sing from the time they were with him." No poet, it may be observed, has more frequently or more powerfully commended the charms of musick than Milton. He wished perhaps to rival, and he has successfully rivalled, the

<sup>c</sup> See his own observations, in his treatise *Of Education*.  
 "The interim of unsweating themselves regularly, and convenient rest before meat, may both with profit and delight be taken up in recreating and composing their travailed spirits with the solemn and divine harmonies of musick heard or learned, &c. The like also would not be unexpedient after meat, to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction, and send their minds back to study in good tune and satisfaction."

<sup>d</sup> Aubrey's MS.

sweetest descriptions of a favourite bard, whom the melting voice appears to have often enchanted; the tender Petrarch. After his regular indulgence in musical relaxation, he studied till six; then entertained his visitors till eight; then enjoyed a light supper; and, after a pipe of tobacco and a glass of water, retired to bed.

It has been observed, by Dr. Newton that all, who had written any accounts of the life of Milton, agreed that he was affable and instructive in conversation, of an equal and cheerful temper; "yet I can easily believe," says the learned biographer, "that he had a sufficient sense of his own merits, and contempt enough for his adversaries." Milton acknowledges his own "honest *haughtiness* and *self-esteem*," with which, however, he professes to have united a becoming "*modesty*." Aubrey notices that he was "satyrical."

His literature was immense. Of the Hebrew, with its two dialects, and of the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish languages, he was a master. In Latin, Dr. Johnson observes, his skill was such as places him in the first rank of writers and critics. In the Italian he was also particularly skilled. His Sonnets in that language have received the highest commendations from Italian critics, both of his own and of modern times<sup>e</sup>. If he had written generally in Italian, it has been supposed, by the late lord Orford, that he would have been the most perfect poet in modern languages; for his own strength of thought would have condensed and hardened that speech to a

<sup>e</sup> Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 177. ed. 1698.

<sup>f</sup> See also Algarotti's ingenious criticism on his works. *Opere del Conte Algarotti*, Ven. 1794, tom. x. p. 39, &c.

proper degree. The Academy Della Crusca consulted him on the critical niceties of their language. In his early days indeed he had become deeply enamoured of "the two famous renowners of *Beatrice* and *Laura* <sup>2</sup>." It has been rightly remarked, that he read almost all authors, and improved by all: He relates himself, that his "round of study and reading was ceaseless."

His favourite book was the Book of God. To Milton, when a child, Revelation opened not her richest stores in vain. To devotional subjects his infant strains were dedicated; and never did "his harp forget" to acknowledge the aids which he derived from the Muse of sacred inspiration. The remark of Gibbon that <sup>a</sup> the sublime genius of Milton was cramped by the system of our religion, and never appeared to so great an advantage as when he shook it a little off, will be admitted by few. It is a just and admirable observation of Mr. Hayley, that, "if some passionate admirers of antiquity seem to lament the fall of paganism, as fatal to poetry, to painting, and to sculpture, a more liberal and enlightened spirit of criticism may rather believe, what is very possible, I apprehend, to demonstrate, that Christianity can hardly be more favourable to the purity of morals, than it might be rendered to the perfection of these delightful arts. Milton himself may be regarded as an obvious and complete proof, that the position is true as far as poetry is concerned." The *Messiah* of Klopstock, and particularly the *Calvary* of Cumberland, may be added as fine examples of the connection between

<sup>2</sup> Prose-Works, vol. i. p. 177, ed. 1698.

<sup>a</sup> Essay on the Study of Literature, 1764, p. 24.

true religion and poetry. When modern Republicanism pretends to consider Milton as her auxiliary, let her remember, with shame, the sanctity of manners which his pages breathe, and the Christian lessons which they inculcate. To *him* "fight more detestable," than the object of her hopes could not possibly be presented. The designs of the crafty sensualist, and of the besotted ungrateful atheist, it was *his* constant endeavour, not to promote, but to overthrow. "It must gratify every Christian to reflect," says Mr. Hayley, "that the man of our country most eminent for energy of mind, for intenseness of application, and for frankness and intrepidity in asserting whatever he believed to be the cause of truth, was so confirmedly devoted to Christianity, that he seems to have made the Bible, not only the rule of his conduct, but the prime director of his genius.—Nor should I omit his own manly anticipation of applause: "<sup>1</sup> Hoping that his name might deserve to appear, not among the mercenary crew of false pretenders to learning, but the free and ingenuous sort of such as evidently were born for study, and love learning for itself, not for lucre, or any other end but the service of God and truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose published labours advance the good of mankind."

The classical books, in which he is represented to have most delighted, were Homer, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Euripides. The first he could almost entirely repeat. Of the last he is said to have been

<sup>1</sup> In his *Areopagitica*.

a reader, not only with the taste of a poet, but with the <sup>k</sup> minuteness of a Greek critick. His Euripides, in two volumes, Paul Stephens's quarto edition of 1602, with many marginal emendations in his own hand, is now the property of Mr. Cradock of Gumly in Leicestershire. Of these notes some have been adopted by Joshua Barnes, and some have been lately printed by Mr. Jodrell. In the first volume, page the first, is the name of John Milton, with the price of the book at 12s. 6d., and the date of the year 1634. I have to notice the existence of another treasure, bearing also the same date, the price 3s., and the name of John Milton, written by himself on the blank page opposite the title; his copy of Lycophron, with his own marginal observations. Of this remarkable curiosity I received my information from Mr. Walker, by whom it had been <sup>l</sup> inspected in the library of Lord Charlemont. From Milton himself we learn, that "the divine volumes of Plato and his equall Xenophon" were principal objects of his regard; and that he preferred Sallust to all the Roman historians. Demosthenes has been supposed, by Lord Monboddo and Mr. Hayley, to have been studied by him minutely and successfully. On contemporary authors Milton has bestowed little praise. Dr. Newton notices that he has condescended, more than once, to applaud Selden; but that he seems disposed to censure, rather than commend, the rest. He has

<sup>k</sup> See Warton's 2d edit. of the Smaller Poems, p. 568. And Jodrell's Illustrations of Euripides, 1781, pp. 34, 336.

<sup>l</sup> My friend, the Rev. Mr. Meen, has since been favoured with the use of this volume. And it is to be hoped, that his excellent version of Lycophron, accompanied with his own acute remarks, as well as Milton's marginal observations, on this author, will soon be presented to the publick.

extolled however, in his *Arcopagitica*, the merits of Lord Brooke, who had lately fallen in the service of the Parliament, and had written a treatise *against the English episcopacy*, and *against the danger of Sects and Schisms*, in terms of superabundant eulogy. He has also spoken of John Cameron, a learned divine and commentator, in terms of high respect; calling him “ a late writer, much applauded,” as also “ an ingenious writer and in high esteem.”

His political principles were those of a thorough republican; which have been ascribed, by Dr. Johnson, to a native violence of temper, and to a hatred of all whom he was required to obey. The frequent asperity of this eminent biographer towards Milton, has been repeatedly noticed, by Mr. Hayley, with reprehension and regret; and in the following instance, with all the eloquence and dignity of sublime instruction.

“ There can hardly be any contemplation more painful, than to dwell on the virulent excesses of eminent and good men; yet the utility of such contemplation may be equal to its pain. What mildness and candour should it not instil into ordinary mortals to observe, that even genius and virtue weaken their title to respect, in proportion as they recede from that evangelical charity, which should influence every man in his judgement of another.

“ The strength and the acuteness of sensation, which partly constitute genius, have a great tendency to produce virulence, if the mind is not perpetually on its guard against that subtle, insinuating, and corrosive passion, hatred against all whose opinions are opposite to our own. Johnson professed, in one of his letters, to love a good hater; and, in the Latin correspondence of Milton, there are words that imply a similarity of sentiment; they both thought there might be a sanctified bitterness, to use an expression of Milton, towards

political and religious opponents; yet surely these two devout men were both wrong, and both in some degree unchristian in this principle. To what singular iniquities of judgement such a principle may lead, we might, perhaps, have had a most striking, and a double proof, had it been possible for these two energetick writers to exhibit alternately a portrait of each other. Milton, adorned with every graceful endowment, highly and holily accomplished as he was, appears, in the dark colouring of Johnson, a most unamiable being; but could he revisit earth in his mortal character, with a wish to retaliate, what a picture might be drawn, by that sublime and offended genius, of the great moralist, who has treated him with such excess of asperity. The passions are powerful colourists, and marvellous adepts in the art of exaggeration; but the portraits executed by love (famous as he is for overcharging them) are infinitely more faithful to nature, than gloomy sketches from the heavy hand of hatred; a passion not to be trusted or indulged even in minds of the highest purity or power; since hatred, though it may enter the field of contest under the banner of justice, yet generally becomes so blind and outrageous, from the heat of contention, as to execute, in the name of virtue, the worst purposes of vice. Hence arises that species of calumny the most to be regretted, the calumny lavished by men of talents and worth on their equals or superiours, whom they have rashly and blindly hated for a difference of opinion. To such hatred the fervid and opposite characters, who gave rise to this observation, were both more inclined, perhaps, by nature and by habit, than Christianity can allow. The freedom of these remarks on two very great, and equally devout, though different writers, may possibly offend the partizans of both: in that case my consolation will be, that I have endeavoured to speak of them with that temperate though undaunted sincerity, which may satisfy the spirit of each in a purer state of existence."

By controversy, and by the indulgence of early prejudices, Milton was undoubtedly soured. But,

if the conceptions of his mind may be taken from his poetry, he will not be thought to have been by nature unamiable. Of Milton, however he might be mistaken in the means, the constant aim and end was liberty. Yet with the love of liberty who will assert his attachment to Cromwell to have been consistent? But he is <sup>o</sup> supposed to have been deceived by the matchless hypocrisy of that usurper; and, in the uprightness of his mind, not to have suspected the false dissembler as adverse to his own spirit of freedom. Still it may be wondered that he, who so well knew the nature of *true liberty*, which

————— “ always with right reason dwells

“ Twinn’d, and from her hath no dividual being;”

it may be wondered that he, I say, should not have timely perceived the designs of *the tyrant whom he served*. Influenced by his uprightness, however, he had before offered to Cromwell, with undaunted zeal, a solemn and energetick <sup>p</sup> lesson of conduct. Nor was Milton exactly that friend to the *majesty of the people*, which the *modern illuminators* of the world have imagined. For, to that pretended sovereignty, what greater insult can be offered than the appellations, with which he has distinguished *the people*, of a <sup>q</sup> “herd confus’d, a miscellaneous rabble!” The well-known expression of <sup>r</sup> Burke must yield to these kindred phrases.

<sup>o</sup> See the Note on *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 683.

<sup>p</sup> Def. Sec. Prose-Works, vol. iii. p. 109, ed. 1698.

<sup>q</sup> *Par. Regained*, B. iii. 49.

<sup>r</sup> See the Notes on *Par. Reg.* B. iii. 49. Burke, I may observe, was an ardent admirer of Milton. I learn, from Mr. Walker, that this great orator was a distinguished member of a Literary Club, instituted in Dublin in 1747, in which he some-



The theological sentiments of Milton are said to have been often changed; from Puritanism to Calvinism; from Calvinism to an esteem for Arminius; and finally, from an accordance with Independents ' and

times held the secretary's pen, and sometimes filled the president's chair; and that, in the original minutes of this society, his early Miltonick taste is thus recorded. " Friday, June 5<sup>th</sup>. 1747. Mr. Burke, being ordered to speak the speech of Moloch, *receives applause for the delivery; it being in character*: Then the speech was read, and criticised upon; its many beauties illustrated; the chief judged to be its conformity with the character of Moloch:

———— ' No; let us rather choose,

' Arm'd with Hell-flames and fury, all at once

' O'er Heaven's high towers to force resistless way.'

The words ' all at once' (the metre not considered) seemed, to the whole assembly, to hurt the sentence by stopping the rapidity, and checking the fierceness, of it; making it too long and tedious. Then was Belial's speech read, to the great delight of the hearers; whose opinion was, that Homer only can be compared to Milton, not only for the beauties that shine in every verse, but likewise for the just and lively colours in which each character was drawn; for that none but Homer, like him, ever supported such spirit and exactness in the speeches of such a contrast and variety of persons." These notices will not seem tedious; for they suggest an opinion, that the finest oratory of modern times might owe its origin, and perfection, to the poetry of Milton.

\* See before, p. 64. Petit, in his *Vision of Purgatory*, published in 1685, introduces Milton in conversation with a Provincial of the Jesuits, to whom " the fanatical rebels of England" are described as " imps;" and, " because Milton was a man of singular eloquence," the author represents him, as spiritedly expostulating with the Provincial for being " denied the honour which is so easily granted to men vastly beneath my merits and deserts; for what can any man do for the promotion of *your interests* that I have not done?" pp. 98, 99, &c.

Anabaptists, to a dereliction of every denomination of Protestants. From any heretical peculiarity of opinion he was free. Dr. Newton considers him as a *Quietist*, full of the interior of religion, though he so little regarded the exterior. Dr. Johnson observes, that "he grew old without any visible worship; but, that he lived without prayer, can hardly be affirmed; his studies and meditations were an habitual prayer." From a remark of Toland, that, "in the latter part of his life, Milton frequented none of the assemblies of any particular sect of Christians, *nor made use of their particular rites in his family*," have arisen assertions without proofs, by other biographers, that "*he did not use any religious rite*," and that "*he never used prayer in his family*." I am inclined to believe that he, who, in his divine poem, so carefully describes the morning and evening worship of our first parents, the first and last hours of the day employed in devotion, could hardly be negligent of reverence to God in his own household. I must not, however, withhold from notice a strange assertion of Milton, respecting prayer: "I believe that God is no more moved with a prayer elaborately penned, than men truly charitable are moved with the penned speech of a beggar!" To his determination of associating with no Church we owe the masterly and judicious observation of Johnson: "To be of no Church is dangerous. Religion, of which the rewards are distant, and which is animated only by Faith and Hope, will glide by degrees out of the mind, unless it be in-

<sup>u</sup> *Eiconoclastes*, Prose-Works, vol. ii. p. 511. ed. 1698.

vigorated and reimpresſed by external ordinances, by ſtated calls to worſhip, and the ſalutary influence of example." Of our liturgy, as of epiſcopacy, Milton has often expreſſed his contempt. He is \* ſaid to have been a principal founder of the Calves-Head Club; a feſtival, which began to be held, during the uſurpation, on the thirtieth of January; *in oppoſition* to Dr. Hammond, and other divines of the Church of England, who met privately to lament that day, in *ⁱ a form of prayer*, little different from what we now find in the liturgy.

Milton's circumſtances were never very affluent. The eſtate left him by his father was but ſmall. In the civil war he ſuſtained the loſs of a conſiderable perſonal property, which he had lent to the Parliament. As Latin Secretary he enjoyed an annual ſalary of two hundred pounds, together with an eſtate of about ſixty pounds a year which belonged to the plundered abbey of Weſtmiſter. Of theſe revenues, as well as of two thouſand pounds which he had placed in the Excife-Office, he was deprived at the *⁲* Reſtoration.

\* See the Secret Hiſtory of the Calves-Head Club, 1709, p. 17.

ⁱ See Kennett's Register, p. 38. See alſo "Private Forms of Prayer, fitted for the late ſad times. Particularly, a Form of Prayer for the thirtieth of January, morning and evening. With Additions, &c. Lond. 1660." 12<sup>mo</sup>. Dr. Hammond is ſuppoſed to be the author.

⁲ In 1791 died Jonathan Hartop, of the village of Aldborough near Borough-bridge in Yorkſhire, at the great age of 138. He is ſaid to have "lent Milton fifty pounds, ſoon after the Reſtoration, which the bard returned him with honour, though not without much difficulty, as his circumſtances were very low. Mr. Hartop would have declined receiving it; but

He had before lost two thousand pounds by entrusting it to a scrivener; and, in the fire of London, his house in Bread-street was burnt. To Milton, however, the deficiency of wealth was little disappointment. He had thirsted more after intellectual riches. The paucity of his wants, and the frugal management of what he retained, enabled him to live without distress. Of the property which he left, the publication of his Nuncupative Will has rectified the mistaken accounts of all his biographers before Mr. Hayley. If he sold his library before his death, as some have asserted, he was perhaps compelled to it by the pillage it had already sustained, and by the fear of its total plunder.

Of his family I shall subjoin a brief account. All his biographers notice his younger brother, Christopher, and his sister, Anne. Of two other sisters the existence has never been related. I have found, however, in the register of All-hallows Bread-street, the births of Sarah and Tabitha Milton, and

the pride of the poet was equal to his genius, and he sent the money with an angry letter, which was found among the curious possessions of that venerable old man." Easton's *Human Longevity*, 8vo. Salisbury, 1799, pp. 241, 242. This curious anecdote of Milton had appeared in the *Wolverhampton Chronicle and Staffordshire Advertiser* of March 31, 1790, Mr. Hartop being then living, and the letter described as extant.

\* "The xvth daye of July 1612 was baptized SARA, the dawghter of John Mylton, scrivener. She was buried the vi<sup>th</sup> of August following in the church.

"The xxx<sup>th</sup> of January, 1613, [that is 1613-14,] was baptized TABITHA, the dawghter of Mr. John Mylton.

"The third daye of December 1615 was baptized CHRISTOPHER, the sonne of John Mylton of this p<sup>ar</sup>ish, scrivener." *Extracts from the Register.*

the death only of Sarah, to be recorded. Christopher was a royalist, and became, long after his brother's death, a judge. Through his brother's interest, he had compounded for his estate, in the rebellion, at the easy price of <sup>b</sup> eighty pounds. Anne must have been elder than either of her brothers; for her birth is not to be found in the register already mentioned: She was probably the eldest child, and born before her father settled in Broadstreet. Milton's Verses on her daughter, written in his seventeenth year, serve to corroborate this supposition. She was first married to Mr. Phillips, afterwards to Mr. Agar, a friend of her first husband, who succeeded him in the Crown-Office of the Court of Chancery. By her first husband she had two sons, Edward and John, whom Milton educated; by her second, two daughters. His brother, Christopher, had two daughters, Mary and Catherine; and a son, Thomas, who succeeded Mr. Agar in his office. Of Milton's children, who survived him, Mr. Warton's concluding Note on the Nuncupative Will gives a distinct account. The several branches of his family appear to be now extinct. I may here observe that the case of Deborah, the youngest, which Mr. Warton deplors with true sensibility, was <sup>c</sup> first noticed in a very feeling manner, in *Mist's Weekly Journal*, April 29, 1727, and commended her to part of the little patronage which she obtained. While it has been observed,

<sup>b</sup> So recorded in the volume of *Compositions*, already mentioned, p. 60.

<sup>c</sup> It is also printed in the *European Magazine* for 1787, p. 65.

that the Nuncupative Will of Milton presents indeed a melancholy picture of domestick connections, and that his conduct towards his daughters has been feelingly defended even by an eminent female pen; it has not been noticed, that part of the charge brought against him, I mean his teaching his children to read and pronounce Greek and several other languages *without understanding any but English*, may be thought more strange and unaccountable, inasmuch as he appears to have been distinguished for the estimation in which he once held literary women; a circumstance which no biographer of Milton has hitherto recorded. Doctor Newton, indeed, facetiously tells us, that Milton used to say that one tongue was enough for a woman! But contemporary information will best illustrate this curious point in the history of the poet. “<sup>d</sup> We believe,” says the answerer to his Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, “*you count no woman to due conversation accessible, AS TO YOU, except she can speak Hebrew, Greek, Latine, and French, and dispute against the Canon law as well as you, or at least be able to hold discourse with you.* But other gentlemen of good qualitie are content with meaner and fewer endowments, as you know well enough.”—I now recur to the defence of Milton by the distinguished lady, who speaking of the *modern revolutionary spirit* in families, and elegantly enforcing the subordination of domestick manners, observes “that, <sup>e</sup> among the faults with which

<sup>d</sup> Answer to the Doct. and Disc. of Divorce, 4<sup>to</sup>. 1644. p. 16.

<sup>e</sup> Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education, by Mrs. Hannah More, vol. i. p. 147, 6th edit. 1799.

it has been too much the fashion of recent times to load the memory of the incomparable Milton, one of the charges brought against his private character (for with his political character we have here nothing to do) has been, that he was so severe a father as to have compelled his daughters, after he was blind, to read aloud to him, for his sole pleasure, Greek and Latin authors of which they did not understand a word. But this is in fact nothing more than an instance of the strict domestick regulations of the age in which Milton lived; and should not be brought forward as a proof of the severity of his individual temper. Nor indeed in any case should it ever be considered as an hardship for an affectionate child to amuse an afflicted parent, even though it should be attended with a heavier sacrifice of her own pleasure than in the present instance."

From Milton's last wife, (whose good name also has been 'calumniated,) the early admirers of the poet learned that he used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter, and on his waking in a morning dictated to her sometimes twenty or thirty verses; that Spenser, Shakspeare, and Cowley, were his favourite English poets; and that he pronounced Dryden to be a rhymist rather than a poet. Dryden's best poems had not yet appeared. To Dryden, who often visited him, Milton acknowledged that Spenser was his original.

From Aubrey's manuscript it appears that Milton's "familiar learned acquaintance" were Andrew Marvell, Cyriack Skinner, and Dr. Paget. I have

often wondered that Milton, who has affectionately recorded the good qualities of many friends, should have omitted to grace his pages with a tribute of respect to the name of Henry More, the celebrated Platonist, his fellow-collegian; by whom Mr. Warton supposes him to have been led to the study of the *divine philosophy*, and of whose poetry I am persuaded, he was an <sup>a</sup> attentive reader.

I must not close this humble account of the great poet, without venturing to observe, that Dr. Johnson, in ridiculing the notion that a writer should suppose himself influenced by times or seasons, has not only too hastily decided on the intellectual impulses of Milton, but has also <sup>b</sup> contradicted himself.

Nor can I here forbear to deplore the unwarranted asperity, with which the last biographer of Milton would consign to oblivion and contempt the critical labours of Milton's best commentator. " <sup>c</sup> For borrowing two or three expressions from *Il Penseroso* and the *Comus*," says Dr. Symmons, " Mr. Warton could thus speak of Pope: ' Pope was a gleaner of the old English poets; and he was here *pilfering* from *obsolete* English poetry without the least fear or danger of being detected.' A few years, however, will sweep this acute and candid detector of plagiarism to oblivion; and will leave the laurel of Eloisa's poet without the vestige of a stain." It is

<sup>a</sup> See the note on *Comus*, ver. 429.

<sup>b</sup> " He [Johnson] here admits an opinion of the human mind being influenced by seasons, which he ridicules in his writings." Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, 3<sup>d</sup> edit. vol. ii. p. 264.

<sup>c</sup> *Life of Milton*, 1806, p. 543.



not my intention, in defending Mr. Warton, to insinuate that any "stain should be fixed on the laurel of Eloisa's poet;" nor is it my province here to illustrate the beautiful application of his borrowings; but I will not hesitate to assure the learned biographer and the world, that the obligations of Pope to our elder poetry, and especially to the poetry of Milton, are more numerous than have hitherto been noticed.

THE  
NUNCUPATIVE WILL

OF

JOHN MILTON\*.

WITH NOTES,

BY THE REVEREND T. WARTON, B. D.



MEMORANDUM, that JOHN MILTON, late of the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate in the Countie of Middlesex Gentleman, deceased, at severall times before his death, and in particular, on or about the twentieth day of July, in the year of our Lord God 1674, being of perfect mind and memorie, declared his Will and intent as to the disposall of his estate after his death, in these words following, or of like effect: "The portion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her, having received no parte of it: but my meaning is, they shall have no other benefit of my estate than the said portion, and what I have besides done for them; they having been very undutifull to me. All the residue of my estate I leave to [the] disposall of Elizabeth my loving wife." Which

\* [From Mr. Warton's 2d edit. of *Milton's Smaller Poems*, 1791.]

\* As propounded in the Prerogative Court.

words, or to the same effect, were spoken in the presence of CHRISTOPHER MILTON<sup>b</sup>.

X [Mark of] ELIZABETH FISHER.<sup>c</sup>

Nov. 23, 1674<sup>d</sup>.

# I.

*The Allegation propounding the Will, on which Allegation the Witneffes be examined<sup>e</sup>.*

Negotium Testamentarium, five probacionis Testamenti nuncupativi, five ultimæ Voluntatis, JOHAN-

<sup>b</sup> JOHN MILTON's younger brother: a strong royalist, and a professed papist. After the civil war, he made his composition through his brother's interest. Being a practitioner in the law, he lived to be an ancient Bencher of the Inner Temple: was made a judge of the Common Pleas, and knighted by king James the second; but, on account of his age and infirmities, he was at length dismissed from business, and retired to Ipswich, where he resided all the latter part of his life.

<sup>c</sup> A servant-maid of JOHN MILTON.

<sup>d</sup> Registr. Cur. Prærog. Cant. This Will was contested by Mary, Deborah, and Anne Milton, daughters of the poet's first wife Mary, daughter of Mr. Richard Powel, of Foresthill in Oxfordshire. The cause came to a regular sentence, which was given against the Will; and the Widow, Elizabeth, was ordered to take Administration instead of a Probate. I must add here, that this cause, the subject of which needed no additional lustre from great names, was tried by that upright and able statesman, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Judge of the Prerogative Court, and Secretary of State; and that the depositions were taken in part before Dr. Trumbull, afterwards Sir Willam Trumbull, Secretary of State, and the celebrated friend of Pope. As a circumstantial and authentick history of this process, the following instruments, which were otherwise thought too curious to be suppressed, are subjoined.

<sup>e</sup> Viz. Christopher MILTON, and JOHN MILTON's two servant-maids Elizabeth and Mary Fisher. Witneffes on the part of the widow.

NIS MILTON, nuper dum vixit parochiæ S. Ægidii Cripplegate London generosi, defuncti, habent, &c. promotum per Elizabetham MILTON<sup>f</sup> Relictam, et Legatariam principalem nominatam in Testamento nuncupativo, sive ultima Voluntate, dicti defuncti, contra Mariam, Annam, et Deborah MILTON, filias dicti defuncti.

## THOMPSON. CLEMENTS.

<sup>f</sup> This was his third wife, Elizabeth Minshull, of a gentleman's family in Cheshire. He married her at the recommendation of his friend, and her relation, Dr. Paget, about the year 1661, and in his fifty-fourth year, soon after he had obtained his pardon from the restored king; being now blind and infirm, and wanting some more constant and confidential companion than a servant to attend upon his person. The elder Richardson insinuates, that this lady, being no poet or philosopher like her husband, used frequently to tease him for his carelessness or ignorance about money-matters, and that she was a *termagant*. He adds, that soon after their marriage, a royal offer was made to Milton of the resumption of his old department of Latin Secretary, and that, being strongly pressed by his wife to an acceptance, he scornfully replied, "Thou art in the right; you, as other women, *would ride in your Coach*. My aim is to live and die an *honest man*." LIFE, &c. p. xcix. seq. edit. 1734. From these papers, however, it appears, that she consulted her husband's humours, and treated his infirmities with tenderness. After his death in 1674, she retired to Nantwich in Cheshire, where she died about 1729. Mr. Pennant says, her father, Mr. Minshull, lived at Stoke in that neighbourhood. W. Tour, and Gough's *Camden*, Cheshire, p. 436. The third edition of *Paradise Lost* was published in 1678: and this is the poet's widow, to whom the copy of that work was then to devolve by original agreement, but who sold all her claims to Samuel Simmons, his bookseller, for eight pounds, according to her receipt given Decemb. 21, 1680.

[Among the letters of Mr. G. Grey to his brother Dr. Zach. Grey, is the following notice of this lady's death, which has

~~Secundo~~ Andreae, A. D. 1674. Quo die.... Thompson, nomine, procuratore, ac ultimus procurator legitimus, dictæ Elizabethæ MILTON, omnibus melioribus et effectualioribus [efficacioribus] via, modo, et meliori forma, necnon ad omnem juris effectum, exhibuit Testamentum nuncupativum dicti JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, sic incipiens, “MEMORANDUM, that JOHN MILTON, late of the parish of S. Giles, Cripplegate. &c.” Which words, or words to the same effect, were spoken in the presence of Christopher MILTON, and Elizabeth Fisher; et allegavit consimiliter, et dicens prout sequitur. I. Quod præfatus JOHANNES MILTON, dum vixit, mentis compos, ac in sua sana memoria existens,.... Testamentum suum nuncupativum modo in hoc negotio exhibitum.... tenoris schedulæ.... testamentariæ condidit, nuncupavit, et declaravit; cæteraque omnia et singula dedit, donavit, reliquit, et disposuit, in omnibus, et per omnia, vel similiter in effectum, prout in dicto Testamento nuncupativo continetur, ac postea mortem obiit: ac Principalis Pars ista proponit conjunctim, divisim, et de quolibet. II. Item, quod tempore conditionis, declarationis, nuncupationis Testamenti, in hoc negotio exhibiti, præfatus JOHANNES MILTON<sup>4</sup> perfecta fruebatur memoria; ac proponit ut supra<sup>5</sup>.

been obligingly communicated to me by J. Nichols, Esq. from the original in his possession: There were three widow Miltons there, (*at Nantaich*) viz. the poet's widow, my aunt, and another. The poet's widow died last summer.” Dated July 30. 1731. [TODD.]

Registr. Cur. Prærog. Cant. ut supr.

## II.

*Interrogatories addressed to the Witnesses examined upon the Allegation.*

Decemb. 5, 1674. Interrogatoria ministrata et ministranda ex parte Annæ, Mariæ, et Deboræ MILTON, testibus ex parte Elizabethæ MILTON productis sive producendis sequuntur.

*Imprimis*, Aske each witnesse, what relation to, or dependance on, the producent, they, or either of them, have; and to which of the parties they would give the victory were it in their power? Et interrogatur quilibet testis conjunctim, et divisim, et de quolibet.

2. *Item*, Aske each witnesse, what day, and what time of the day, the Will nuncupative was declared; what positive words did the deceased use in the declaring thereof? Can you positively swear, that the deceased did declare that hee did leave the residue of his estate to the disposall of his wife, or did hee not say, "I will leave the residue of my estate to my wife? *Et fiat ut supra*.

3. *Item*, Upon what occasion did the deceased declare the said Will? Was not the deceased in perfect health at the same time? Doe you not think, that the deceased, if he declared any such Will, declared it in a present passion, or some angry humour against some or one of his children by his former [first] wife? *Et fiat ut supra*.

4. *Item*, Aske each witnesse, whether the parties ministrant were not and are not greate frequenters of the Church, <sup>b</sup> and good livers; and what cause

<sup>b</sup> Here seems to be an insinuation, that our poets's displeasure against those three daughters, arose partly from their adherence

of displeasure had the deceased against them? *Et fiat ut supra.*

5. *Item*, Aske Mr. [Christopher] MILTON, and each other witnesse, whether the deceased's Will, if any such was made, was not, that the deceased's wife should have £.1000, and the children of the said Christopher MILTON the residue; and whether she hath not promised him that they should have it, if she prevailed in this Cause? Whether the said Mr. MILTON hath not since the deceased's death confessed soe much, or some part thereof? *Et fiat ut supra.*

6. *Item*, Aske each witnesse, whether what is left to the ministrants by the said Will is not reputed a very bad or altogether desperate debt<sup>1</sup>? *Et fiat ut supra.*

to those principles; which, in preference to his own, they had received, or rather inherited, from their mother's family, who were noted and active royalists. Afterwards, the description *good liver*s is not to be understood in its general and proper sense, which could not have offended Milton; but as arising from what went before, and meaning much the same thing, that is, *regular in their attendance on the established worship.*

<sup>1</sup> That is, the marriage portion, promised, but never paid, to JOHN MILTON, by Mr. Richard Powell, the father of his first wife; and which the said JOHN bequeathed to the daughters of that match, the ministrants, Anne, Mary, and Deborah. They were married in 1643. I have now before me an original "Inventorie of the goods of Mr. Richard Powell of Forrethill, in the county of Oxon, taken the 10th of June, A. D. 1646." This seems to have been taken in consequence of a seizure of Mr. Powell's House by the rebels. His distresses in the royal cause probably prevented the payment of his daughter's marriage portion. By the number, order, and furniture of the rooms, he appears to have lived as a country gentleman, in a very extensive and liberal style of house-keeping. This I mention to confirm

7. Aske the said Mr. MILTON, whether he did not gett the said Will drawn upp, and inform the writer to what effect he should draw it? And did he not enquire of the other witnessses, what they would or could depose? And whether he hath not solicited this Cause, and pay'd fees to the Proctour about it? *Et fiat ut supra.*

8. *Item*, Aske each witnesse, what fortune the deceased did in his life-time bestowe on the ministrants? And whether the said Anne MILTON is not lame, and almost helpelesse? \* *Et fiat ut supra.*

9. *Item*, Aske each witnesse, what value is the deceased's estate of, as neare as they can guesse? *Et fiat ut supra*<sup>1</sup>.

## II.

*Depositions and cross-examinations of the said witnessses.*

Elizabetha MILTON, Relicta et Legataria principalis JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, contra Annam, Mariam, et Deboraham MILTON, filias ejusdem de-

what is said by Phillips, that Mr. Powell's daughter abruptly left her husband within a month after their marriage, disgusted with his spare diet and hard study, "after having been used at home to a great house, and much company and joviality, &c." I have also seen in Mr. Powell's house at Foresthill many papers, which show the active part he took in favour of the Royalists: With some others relating to the Rangership of the Shotover forest, bearing his signature.

\* She was deformed, and had an impediment in her speech. His grand-daughter Elizabeth Foster by the third daughter Deborah, often spoke of his harshness to his daughters, and that he refused to have them taught to write.

<sup>1</sup> Registr. Cur. Prærog. Cant. ut supr.



functi. Super Allegatione articulata et Testamento nuncupativo JOHANNIS MILTON defuncti, ex parte Elizabethæ MILTON predictæ, in hoc negotio, secundo Andreæ, 1674, dato<sup>m</sup> et exhibitis.

Quinto Decembris 1674. Christophorus MILTON villæ Gipwici in com. Suffolciæ ortus infra parochiam Omnium Sanctorum *Bredstreete*, London, ætat. 58 annor. aut eo circiter, testis, &c. Ad omnes articulos dictæ Allegationis, et ad Testamentum nuncupativum JOHANNIS MILTON, generosi, defuncti, in hoc negotio dat. et exhibit. deponit et dicit, That on, or about the twentieth day of July, 1674, the day certaine he now remembreth not, this deponent being a practicer in the Law, and a Bencher in the Inner Temple, but living in vacations at Ipswich, did usually at the end of the Terme visit JOHN MILTON, his this deponent's brother the Testator articulate, deceased, before his going home; and soe at the end of Midsummer Terme last past, he this deponent went to visit his said brother, and then found him in his chamber within his owne house, scituate on Bunhill<sup>a</sup> within the

<sup>a</sup> Sic, ut et infra, pro *Milton*.

<sup>a</sup> Sometimes called the *Artillery-walk*, leading to Bunhill fields. This was his last settled place of abode, and where he lived longest. Richardson calls this house a "small house, where he died about fourteen years after he was out of publick employ." Ubi supr. p. xciii. It was here that he wrote or finished *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*. But in 1665, when the plague broke out in London, he retired to Chalfont Saint Giles, where his friend Elwood, a quaker, had taken a house for him; and the next year, when the danger was over, he came back to Bunhill-fields. The house at Chalfont, in which he resided in this short space of time, and where he planned or began *Paradise Regained*, is still standing, small, but

parish of S. Giles, Cripelgate, London : And at that tyme, he the said Testator, being not well, (and this deponent being then going into the country,) in a serious manner, with an intent, (as he believes,) that what he then spoke should be his WILL, if he dyed before his this deponent's coming the next time to London, declared his Will in these very words as neare as this deponent cann now call to mynd. Viz. " Brother, the porcion due to me from Mr. Powell, my former [first] wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her : but I have receaved noe part of it, and my Will and meaning is, they shall have noe other benefit of my estate, than the said porcion and what I have besides don for them : they haveing been very undutifull to me. And all the residue of my estate I leave to the disposall of Elizabeth my loveing wife." She, the said Elizabeth his the deceased's wife, and Elizabeth Fysher his the deceased's then maide-servant, was [at the] same tyme goeing upp and downe the roome, but whether she then heard the said deceased, so declare his will as above or not, he knoweth not.

pleasantly situated. See Ellwood's *Life of Himself*, p. 246. Who calls it " a pretty box."

[Mr. Dunster, in the additions to his edition of *Paradise Regained*, remarks that the house is not pleasantly situated. " The adjacent country is indeed extremely pleasant ; but the immediate spot is as little picturesque or pleasing as can be well imagined. Immediately in front of the house, a grass field rises so abruptly as completely to exclude all prospect : and the common road of the village passes by the gable end, adjoining to which is the end of a small dwelling, which runs behind that inhabited by Milton." TODD.]

And the said testator at the premises was of perfect mind and memory and talked and discoursed sensibly and well, *et aliter nescit deponere*.

CHR. MILTON.

### AD INTERROGATORIA.

Ad 1<sup>m</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that the party producent in this cause was and is the relict of the said deceased, who was his this respondent's brother; and the parties ministring these interrogatories were and are in repute, and soe he beleeveth his the said deceased's children by a former wife: and for his part, he wisheth right to take place, and soe would give it if in his power; and likewise wisheth that his brother's Will might take effect.

Ad 2<sup>m</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that on what day of the moneth or weeke the said deceased declared his Will, as is above depofed, he now remembreth not precisely; but well remembreth, that it was in a forenoone, and on the very day he this deponent was goeing in the country in [the] Ipswich coach, which goeth not out of towne till noone or thereabout: and he veryly beleeveth in his conscience, that the residue of his estate he did then dispose of in these very words, viz. "And all the residue of my estate I leave to the disposall of Elizabeth my loving wife;" or he used words to the selfe same effect, *et aliter referendo se ad pre-depos. nescit respondere*.

Ad 3<sup>m</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that the said deceased was then ill of the gout, and what he then spake touching his Will was in a very calme manner; only [he] complained, but without passion, that his children had

been unkind to him, but that his wife had been very kind and careful of him; and he believeth the only reason induced the said deceased at that time to declare his Will was, that he this deponent might know it before his going into the country, *et aliter referendo se ad pre-deposita nescit respondere.*

Ad 4<sup>m</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that he knoweth not how the parties ministring these interrogatories frequent the church, or in what manner of behaviour of life and conversation they are of, they living apart from their father four or five yeares last past, and as touching his the deceased's displeasure with them, he only heard him say at the tyme of declaring of his Will, that they were undutifull and unkind to him, not expressing any particulars; but in former tymes he hath herd him complaine, that they were careless of him being blind, and made nothing of desorteing him, *et aliter nescit respondere.*

Ad 5<sup>m</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that since this respondent's coming to London this Michaelmas Terme last paste, this respondent's sister, the party now pro- ducent in this cause, told this respondent, that the deceased his brother did after his this respondent's going into the country in Trinity vacation last summer [say,] that, if she should have any overplus above a 1000*l.* come to her hands of his the deceased's estate, she should give the same to this respondent's children: but the deceased himselfe did not declare any such thing to this respondent at the tyme of his declaring his Will, the tyme above deposed of.

Ad 6<sup>m</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that he beleeveth that what is left to the parties ministring these interroga- tories by the said deceased's Will, is in the hands of

persons of ability abell to pay the same, being their grandmother and uncle; and he hath seen the grandfather's Will, wherein 'tis particularly directed to be paid unto them by his executors, *et aliter nescit respondere*.

Ad 7<sup>m</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that he this respondent did draw up the very Will executed in this cause, and write it with his owne hand, when he came to this court, about the 23d. of November last past, and at that tyme this respondent did read the same all over to Elizabeth Fisher, the said deceased's late maid servant, and she said she remembered the same, and in confirmation whereof set her marke thereto in manner as on the same Will executed in this cause is now to be seen. And this respondent waited on the said deceased's widdow once at Doctor Exton's chambers about this suite, at which tyme she wanted some halfe crownes, and this respondent lent her then two halfe crownes, but more he hath at noe tyme paid either to Doctor or Proctor in this cause.

Ad 8<sup>m</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that he knoweth of noe fortune given by the said deceased to the parties ministring these interrogatories, besides the portion which he was promised with his former wife in marriage, being a 1000l. which is still unpaid besides the interest thereof for about twenty yeares, saveing his charges in their maintenance and breeding, *et aliter nescit respondere*, saveing that Anne Milton interr. is lame and helples.

Ad ult. reddit causas scientiæ suæ ut supra.

Die prid.

Repetit. cor. Doctore

CHR. MILTON.

Lloyd Surrog.

Milton con.  
Thompson.

Milton et Milton  
Clements.

Sup. All<sup>is</sup>. artic. et Testamento nuncupativo Johan. Milton defuncti ex parte Elizabethæ Milton in hujusmodi Causa dat. et admiff. examinat.

15<sup>o</sup>. Dec. 1674.

Maria Fisher soluta famul. domestica Johan. Batten habitan. in vico vocat. Bricklane in Old Streete ubi moram fecit per Spacium sex hebdomadarum aut eo circiter, antea cum Beniamino Whitcomb Mercatore habitan. in vico vocat. Coleman Streete London per Spacium 3m. Mensium, antea cum Guidon Culcap infra locum vocat. Smock Alley prope Spittlefields per Spacium unius anni, aut eo circiter, antea cum Johanne Bayley infra Oppidum Milton in Com. Stafford per Spacium duorum annorum, antea cum Johanne Baddily infra parochiam de Milton præd. per Spacium trium annorum, et antea cum quodam Rogers Hargrave infra parochiam de Milton præd. per Spacium duorum annorum aut eo circiter, orta infra parochiam de Norton in Com. Stafford præd. ætatis 23 aut eo circiter, testis, &c.

Ad omnes articulos dictæ All<sup>is</sup>. et ad testamentum nuncupativum Johan Milton testatoris in hac causa defuncti in hujusmodi neg<sup>a</sup>. dat. et exhibit. *deponit et dicit*, that this deponent knew and was well ac-

quainted with the articulate John Milton the testator in this cause deceased, for about a twelve moneth before his death, who dyed about a moneth since to the best of this deponent's remembrance ; And faith, that on a day hapning about two moneths since, as neare as this deponent can remember, this deponent being then in the kitchen of the house of the foresaid John Milton scituate against the Artillery Ground neare Bunhill Fields, and about noone of the same day, the said deceased and the producent Elizabeth his wife being then at dinner in the said kitchen, hee the said deceased amongst other discourse then had betweene him and his said wife, did then speake to his said wife and utter these words, viz. " Make much of mee as long as I live, for thou knowest I have given thee all when I dye at thy disposal ;" there being then present in the said kitchen this deponent's sister and *contest* \* namely Elizabeth Fysher. And the said deceased was at that time of perfect mind and memory, and talked and discoursed sensibly and well, and was very merry, and seemed to be in good health of body, *et aliter nescit*.

Signum

MARIÆ FISHER.

#### AD INTERROGATORIA.

Ad primum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent hath noe relation or dependance on the producent Elizabeth Milton, that it is indifferent to this respon-

i. e. Fellow-witness, Con-Testis.

dent which of the parties in this suite obtaine, and would give the victory in this cause if in her power to that party that hath most right; but which party hath most right thereto this respondent knoweth not, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad secundum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent doth not remember the day when the deceased declared the words by her pre-deposed, but remembreth that it was about noone of such day that the words which hee then declared were these, viz. "Make much of mee as long as I live, for thou knowest I have given thee all when I dye at thy disposal;" then speaking to his wife Elizabeth Milton the party producent in this cause, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad tertium Interr. *respondet*, that the deceased, when hee declared the words pre-deposed, was then at dinner with his wife the party producent and was then very merry, and seemed to be in good health of body; but upon what occasion hee spoke the said words shee knoweth not, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad quartum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent knoweth neither of the parties ministrant in this cause saving this respondent once saw Anne Milton one of the ministrants, *et nescit respondere per parte sua*.

*Ad quintum Interr. nescit respondere.*

*Ad sextum Interr. nescit respondere.*

*Ad septimum Interr. non concernit eam, et nescit respondere.*

Ad octavum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent once saw the Interr. Anne Milton but doth not remember whether shee was lame or helpelesse, *aliter nescit*.



Ad 9<sup>m</sup>. Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent knoweth nothing of the deceased's estate or the value thereof, *et aliter nescit*.

Eodem Die

Signum

Repetit coram Doctore

MARIÆ FISHER.

Digby Surro. &c. pñte

Tho Welham, N. P.

Eodem Die

Elizabetha Fisher famula Domestica Elizabethæ Milton pñtis producentis in hac causa cum qua et Johanne Milton ejus Marito defuncto vixit per Spacium 13 Mensium, antea cum quodam Thoma Adams apud Bagnall in Com. Stafford per Spacium trium annorum et sex Mensium, antea cum W<sup>mo</sup>. Bourne Gen. infra parochiam de Woolfistlan in Com. Stafford præd. per Spacium duorum annorum, orta infra parochiam de Norton in Com. præd. ætatis 28 annorum aut eo circiter, testis, &c.

Ad omnes articulos dictæ All<sup>n</sup> et ad testamentum nuncupativum Johan. Milton testatoris in hac causa defuncti in hujusmodi negotio dat. exhibit et admitt. *deponit et dicit*, that this deponent was servant unto Mr. JOHN MILTON the testator in this cause deceased for about a yeare before his death, who died upon a Sunday the \* fifteenth of November last at night,

[She appears to have been mistaken, a single week, in her deposition. See the Life, p. 125, 126. Todd.]

And faith that on a day hapning in the month of July laſt, the time more certainly ſhe remembereth not, this deponent being then in the deceaſed's lodging chamber, hee the ſaid deceaſed, and the party producent in this cauſe his wife, being then alſoe in the ſaid chamber at dinner together, and the ſaid Elizabeth Milton the party producent having provided ſomething for the deceaſed's dinner which hee very well liked, <sup>p</sup> hee the ſaid deceaſed then ſpoke to his ſaid wife theſe or the like words as neare as this deponent can remember, viz. " God have mercy Betty, I ſee thou wilt performe according to thy promiſe in providing mee ſuch diſhes as I think fitt whilſt I live, and when I dye thou knoweſt that I have left thee all," there being noebody preſent in the ſaid chamber with the ſaid deceaſed and his wife but this deponent: And the ſaid teſtator at that time was of perfect mind and memory, and talked and diſcourſed ſenſibly and well, but was then indiſpoſed in his body by reaſon of the diſtemper of the gout, which hee had then upon him. Further this deponent faith, that ſhee hath ſevrall times heard the ſaid deceaſed, ſince the time above depoſed of, declare and ſay, that hee had made proviſion for his children in his life-time, and had ſpent the greateſt part of his eſtate in providing for them, and that hee was reſolved hee would doe noe more for them living or dyeing, for that little part which hee had left hee had given to his wife the articulate Elizabeth the producent, or he uſed words to that effect. And likewise told this deponent, that

<sup>p</sup> His grand-daughter Elizabeth Foſter, by his third daughter Deborah, uſed to ſay, that he was delicate, but temperate in his diet.

there was a thousand pounds left in Mr. Powell's hands to be disposed amongst his children hereafter. By all which words this respondent verily beleeveth that the said testator had given all his estate to the articulate Elizabeth his wife, and that shee should have the same after his decease, *et aliter nescit respondere*, saving that the said deceased was at the several times of declaring the words last pre-deposed alsoe of perfect mind and memory.

Signum

ELIZAB. FISHER.

#### AD INTERROGATORIA.

Ad primum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent was servant to the deceased in his life time and is now servant to the producent and therefore hath a dependency upon her as her servant, that if the victory were in this respondent's power shee would give the deceased's estate equally to be shared betwene the ministrants and the producent, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad secundum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent doth not remember on what day the deceased declared the words first by her afore deposed, but it was about noone of such day when he was at dinner that the precise words as neare as this respondent can remember which the deceased used at that time were these, viz. "God have mercy Betty (speaking to his wife Elizabeth Milton for soe hee usually called her) I see thou wilt performe according to thy promise in providing mee such dishes as I think fitt

whilst I live, and when I dye thou knowest that I have left thee all," *et aliter nescit* ; saving that this respondent well remembreth that the deceased declared the words last by her deposed to the articles of the allegation to this respondent once on a Sunday in the afternoone, but on what day of the month or in what month the said Sunday then happened this respondent doth not remember.

Ad tertium Interr. *respondet*, that the occasion of the deceased's speaking of the words deposed by this respondent in her answer to the next precedent interrogatory was upon the producent's provideing the deceased such victuals for his dinner as hee liked, and that he was then indifferent well in health, saving that some time he was troubled with the paine of the gout, and that hee was at that time very merry and not in any passion or angry humour, neither at that time spoke any thing against any of his children that this respondent heard of, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad quartum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent hath heard the deceased declare his displeasure against the parties ministrant his children, and particularly the deceased declared to this respondent that, a little before hee was married to Elizabeth Milton his now reliēt, a former maid servant of his told Mary one of the deceased's daughters and one of the ministrants, that shee heard the deceased was to be married, to which the said Mary replied to the said maid servant, that that was noe news to heare of his wedding, but if shee could heare of his death that was something : and further told this respondent, that all his said children did combine together and counsel his maid servant to cheat him the deceased in her markettings,

and that his said children had made away some of his bookes and would have sold the rest of his bookes to the dunghill women; or hee the said deceased spoke words to this respondent to the selfe same effect and purpose; that this respondent knoweth not what frequenters of the church, or what good livers, the parties ministrant or either of them are, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad quintum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent doth not know that the deceased's wife was to have 1000*l.* and the interrogative children of Christopher Milton the residue, nor doth this respondent know that the said Elizabeth, the deceased's wife, hath promised the interrogative Christopher Milton or his children any such thing in case shee should prevaile in this cause; that the said Mrs. Milton never confessed soe much in this respondent's hearing, or to any body else that this respondent knoweth of, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad sextum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent believeth that what is left the deceased's children in the Will nuncupative in this cause executed and mencioned therein to be due from Mr. Powell, is a good debt; for that the said Mr. Powell is reputed a rich man, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad septimum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent did voluntarily tell the interrogative Mrs. Milton, what shee heard the deceased say which was to the effect by her pre-deposed, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad octavum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent knoweth not what the deceased did in his life time bestow on the ministrants his children, and that the interrogative Anne Milton is lame, but hath a trade

and can live by the fame, which is the making of gold and silver lace and which the deceased bred her up to, *et aliter nescit*.

Ad nonum Interr. *respondet*, that this respondent knoweth not the deceased's estate, or the value thereof, *et aliter nescit*.

Eodem Die  
Repetit coram Doctore  
*Trumbull* Surro. &c.  
Tho. Welham, N. P.<sup>¶</sup>

Signum  
ELIZABETHÆ FISHER.

JAMES TOWNLEY,  
GEORGE GOSLING, } DEPUTY REGISTERS.  
ROBERT DODWELL, }

¶ Cur. Prærog. Cant. ut supra.

## IV.

Grant of Letters of Administration to the widow Elizabeth<sup>r</sup>.

Die 25<sup>to</sup>. Februarii 167<sup>4</sup>.

JOHANNES MILTON. Vicefimo	} ult. Julii.
quinto Die Februarii emanavit Commissio Elizabethæ	
MILTON Relictæ JOHANNIS	
MILTON nuper Parochiæ	
Sancti Egidii Cripplegate in	
Com. Mid. Defuncti hēntis,	
&c. ad Administrand. bona.	
jura, et credita dicti defuncti,	
de bene &c. jurat, Testamento Nuncupativo dict. de-	
functi: aliter per antedictam Elizabetham MILTON Al-	
legato, nondum Probato.	ult. Dec.

GEORGE GOSTLING,	} DEPUTY REGISTERS.
JAMES TOWNLEY,	
ROBERT DODWELL,	

<sup>r</sup> The reader will compare these evidences with the printed accounts of Milton's biographers on this subject; who say, that he sold his library before his death, and left his family fifteen hundred pounds, which his widow Elizabeth seized, and only gave one hundred pounds to each of his three daughters. Of this widow, Phillips relates, rather rashly, that she persecuted his children in his life time, and *cheated* them at his death.

Milton had children, who survived him, only by his first wife, the three daughters so after named. Of these, Anne, the first, de-

formed in stature, but with a handsome face, married a master builder, and died of her first childbirth, with the infant. Mary, the second, died single. Deborah, the third, and the greatest favourite of the three, went over to Ireland as companion to a lady in her father's life-time; and afterwards married Abraham Clarke, a weaver in Spital-fields, and died; aged seventy-six in August 1727. This is the daughter that used to read to her father; and was well known to Richardson, and Professor Ward: a woman of a very cultivated understanding, and not inelegant of manners. She was generously patronised by Addison; and by queen Caroline, who sent her a present of fifty guineas. She had seven sons and three daughters, of whom only Caleb and Elizabeth are remembered. Caleb migrated to Fort Saint George, where perhaps he died. Elizabeth, the youngest daughter, married Thomas Foster a weaver in Spittle-fields, and had seven children, who all died. She is said to have been a plain sensible woman; and kept a petty grocer's or Chandler's shop, first at lower Holloway, and afterwards in Cock-lane near Shoreditch church. In April, 1750, *Comus* was acted for her benefit: Doctor Johnson, who wrote the Prologue, says, "she had so little acquaintance with diversion or gaiety, that she did not know what was intended when a benefit was offered her." The profits of the performance were only one hundred and thirty pounds \*; although Doctor Newton contributed largely, and twenty pounds were given by Jacob Tonson the bookseller. On this trifling augmentation to their small stock, she and her husband removed to Islington, where they both soon died. So much greater is our taste, our charity, and general national liberality, at the distance of forty years, that I will venture to pronounce, that, in the present day, a benefit at one of our theatres for the relief of a poor and an infirm grand-daughter of the author of *Comus* and *Paradise Lost*, would have been much more amply and worthily supported.

THESE seem to have been the grounds, upon which Milton's Nuncupative Will was pronounced invalid. First, there was wanting what the Civil Law terms a *rogatio testium*, or a solemn bidding of the persons present, to take notice that the words he was going to deliver were to be his Will. The Civil Law re-

[\* From the information of my friend, Isaac Reed, Esq., I am enabled to add, to Mr Warton's account, that the Receipts of the House were 147l. 4s. 6d, from which the Expences deducted were 80l. Todd.]



quires this form, to make men's verbal declarations operate as Wills; otherwise, they are presumed to be words of common calling or loose conversation. And the Statute of the twenty-ninth of Charles the Second [c. iii.] has adopted this Rule; as may be seen in the 19th clause of that Statute, usually called the *Statute of Frauds*, which passed in the year 1676, two years after Milton's death. Secondly, the words, here attested by the three witnesses, are not words delivered at the same time; but one witness speaks to one declaration made at one time, and another to another declaration made at another time. And although the declarations are of similar import, this circumstance will not satisfy the demands of the Law; which requires, that the three witnesses who are to support a Nuncupative Will, must speak to the identical words uttered at one and the same time. There is yet another requisite in Nuncupative Wills, which is not found here; namely, that the words be delivered in the last sickness of a party: whereas the words here attested appear to have been delivered when the party was in a tolerable state of health, at least under no immediate danger of death. On these principles we may presume Sir Leoline Jenkins to have acted in the rejection of Milton's Will: although the three witnesses apparently told the truth in what they deposed. The Judge, deciding against the Will, of course decreed administration of the Intestate's effects to the widow.

For an investigation of these papers in the Prerogative Registry, for an explanation of their nature and purport, and of other technical difficulties which they present to one unacquainted with the records and more ancient practice of the prerogative court in testamentary proceedings, I must confess myself indebted to the kind attention and friendship of SIR WILLIAM SCOTT. There are other papers in the Commons belonging to this business: but as they are mere forms of law, as they throw no new light on the cause, and furnish no anecdotes of Milton and his family, they are here omitted. T. WARTON.

*A LIST of such Editions of Milton's POETICAL  
WORKS as have hitherto been met with by the  
editor of these volumes.*

- i. A Maske presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634, &c. Printed for H. Robinson, 1637. 4°. This is Lawes's edition of *Comus*.
- ii. *Lycidas*, in the *Cambridge Verses*, 1638. 4to.
- iii. Poems by Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, composed at several times. Printed by his true copies. The Songs were set in musick by Mr. Henry Lawes, gentleman of the King's Chappel, &c. Printed and published according to order. London, Printed by Ruth Raworth for Humphrey Moseley, &c. 1645. small 8°. with his portrait by Marshall.
- iv. The Sonnet to Henry Lawes, prefixed to Choice Psalms put into musick by H. and W. Lawes. Printed for H. Moseley, 1648. 4°.
- v. *Paradise Lost*, a Poem written in ten books, by John Milton. Licensed and Entred according to order. London, Printed and are to be sold by Peter Parker under Creed Church near Aldgate; And by Robert Boulter at the Turke's Head in Bishopsgate-street; and Matthias Walker under St. Dunstons Church in Fleet-street. 1667. 4°. This is the *first title page* of the *first edition*. The poem immediately follows the title-page, without any arguments or list of errata.  
2d *Title-page*, &c. *Paradise Lost*, a Poem in ten books. The Author J. M. Licensed and Entred according to order. London, Printed and are to be sold by Peter Parker, &c. [as before] 1668.  
3d *Title-page*, &c. *Paradise Lost*, a Poem in ten books. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by S. Simmons, and to be sold by S. Thomson at the Bishops-head in Duck-lane, H. Mortlack at the White Hart in Westminster-Hall, M. Walker under St. Dunstons Church in Fleet-street, and

R. Boulter at the Turks-Head in Bishopsgate-street, 1668. To these titles of 1668, the address of *The Printer to the Reader*, and the Arguments of each book, immediately succeed. A table of errata also precedes the poem.

4th *Title-page*, &c. *Paradise Lost*, a Poem in ten books. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by S. Simmons, and are to be sold by T. Helder at the Angel in Little Britain. 1669. With the address of *The Printer to the Reader*, and the Arguments.

5th *Title-page*, &c. *Paradise Lost*, a Poem in ten books. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by S. Simmons &c. [as before] 1669, but without the subsequent address of *The Printer to the Reader*, yet not without the Arguments; which appear to have been reprinted, as the two last leaves of the poem seem also to have been, in this *fifth* typographical alteration.

Of this edition some errata appear to have been corrected in some sheets while they were passing through the prefs. I will mention an instance or two. Mr. Lofft observes, that the 257th line of the fifth book "begins a new paragraph in his copy of 1667, and that of 1669, and has no comma after *cloud*: but in that of 1668 it continues unbroken; and has a comma after *cloud*."—I have two copies of 1668, one of which, (in its original binding,) begins a paragraph with this verse, and has no comma after *cloud*. The other agrees with Mr. Lofft's statement. Again, the list of errata to my copy of 1668 directs *in* to be substituted for *with*, in the penultimate line of the third book: *In* is printed in both my copies of 1668. I have a copy of 1669 in which *with* remains. In the copies of 1668 and 1669 the number of this verse also differs. Several variations of this kind might be pointed out. Perhaps some leaves were cancelled.

vi. *Paradise Regained*, a Poem in IV books. To which is added *Samson Agonistes*. The Author John Milton. London, Printed by J. M. for John Starkey, &c. 1671. 8vo.

- vii. Poems, &c. Upon several Occasions. By Mr. John Milton: Both English and Latin, &c. Composed at several times. With a small Tractate of Education to Mr. Hartlib. London, Printed for Tho. Dring &c. 1673. small 8vo. To the English poems in this edition were first added, i. Ode on the death of a fair infant. ii. At a Vacation Exercise in the College. iii. On the new forces of conscience under the Long Parliament. iv. Horace to Pyrrha. v. Nine Sonnets. vi. All the English Psalms. To the Latin poems, i. Apologus de Rustico et Hero. ii. Ad Joannem Rouffium, &c. In this edition the epistle from Sir Henry Wotton is omitted.
- viii. Paradise Lost, a Poem in twelve books. The Author John Milton. *The Second Edition*, Revised and Augmented by the same Author. London, Printed by S. Simmons, &c. 1674. small 8vo. With his portrait by Dolle, and with the commendatory verses of Barrow and Marvell. In the Advertisement to the Glasgow editions of the first book of Paradise Lost in quarto, and of the whole poem in octavo, both printed in 1750, an edition of 1672 is mentioned as the standard edition, of which the text is in these editions adopted. After a very extensive and diligent inquiry, I have been unable, however, to meet with any copy bearing the date of 1672.
- ix. Paradise Lost, &c. 3d Edition. 1678. small 8vo.
- x. Par. Regained and Samson &c. 1680. 8vo.
- xi. Par. Lost, 4th Edition. With his portrait by White, and other plates. Published by subscription. Lond. Printed by Miles Fleisher for Richard Bentley, &c. 1688. Fol. To this edition the two following poems are usually, but not always, found adjoined.
- xii. Par. Regained, Lond. Printed by R. E. and sold by Randal Taylor. 1688. Fol.
- xiii. Samson Agonistes, Lond. Printed and sold by Randal Taylor. 1688. Fol.
- xiv. Paradise Lost and Regained, with cuts. London. 1692. Fol.

- xv. *Paradise Lost*. Lond. 1695. Fol. With Notes by P. Hume, and with a Table of the most remarkable parts of the poem, under the three heads of Descriptions, Similies, and Speeches.
- xvi. *Par. Regained, Samson, and the Smaller Poems*, were also printed, in folio for Tonson, in 1695, and are most frequently found united with the *Par. Lost* of the same year.
- xvii. *The Poetical Works*, in 2 vols. large 8vo. London. Printed for Tonson, 1705.
- xviii. The same, 2 vols. 8vo. 1707.
- xix. *Paradise Lost*, for Tonson, 12mo. 1711. This edition is much esteemed. Tickell seems to have printed his edition from it. To this edition is added the index of the principal matters, which Dr. Newton supposed to have been first inserted in Tickell's edition.
- xx. *Par. Regained, Samson, and the Smaller Poems*, Lond. for Tonson, 1713. 12mo. This edition is also valuable. It rectifies several errors of the text in the handsome, but incorrect, editions of 1705 and 1707.
- This edition appeared with another bookseller's name (W. Taylor) in the *general* title-page, and with the date of 1721: But in the *separate* titles of *Samson, and the Poems*, the true date remains. It is unquestionably the edition of 1713 with a new title-page.
- xxi. *Paradise Lost*, with Plates. Lond. 1719. 12mo.
- xxii. *The Poetical Works*, in 2 vols. 4to. for Tonson, 1720. With Mr. Addison's Criticism on the *Par. Lost*, and an Index of the principal matters. This is Tickell's edition. It is splendidly printed. A list of more than 300 subscribers is prefixed to it.
- xxiii. The same, in 2 vols. 12mo. With Mr. Addison's Criticism. 1721.
- xxiv. *Paradise Lost*, 8vo. Dublin, for G. Grierson, 1724.
- xxv. *Paradise Lost*, to which is prefixed an Account of the Life of Milton, 8vo. Lond. 1725. Fenton's edition.
- xxvi. *Par. Regained, Samson, and the Smaller Poems*, under the care also of Fenton, 8vo. 1725.

- xxvii. The Poetical Works, 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1727.  
Fenton's.
- xxviii. The same, 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1730. Fenton's.
- xxix. The same, with Mr. Addison's Criticism, 2 vols.  
12mo. Lond. 1731.
- xxx. Paradise Lost, 4to. 1732.\* Bentley's edition.
- xxxi. Paradise Lost, 8vo. Lond. 1737.
- xxxii. The same, 8vo. Lond. 1738.
- xxxiii. The same, with Mr. Addison's Criticism, 8vo.  
Lond. 1739.
- xxxiv. Paradise Lost, 8vo. Tonson. Lond. 1741.
- xxxv. Par. Regained, Samson, and the Smaller Poems,  
beautifully printed, and on a fine paper, large 8vo. Lond.  
1742.
- xxxvi. Paradise Lost, 8vo. Lond. 1746.
- xxxvii. Paradise Lost, in 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. For Tonson.  
1746.
- xxxviii. Par. Regained, Samson, and the Smaller Poems,  
in 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. For Tonson, 1747. This and  
the preceding edition are printed with great correctness.
- xxxix. Paradise Lost, compared with the authentick edi-  
tions, and revised by John Hawkey, editor of the Latin  
Classicks. Dublin, printed by S. Powell for the editor.  
1747, large 8vo. This edition, and the edition of Para-  
dise Regained by the same person, are very handsomely  
printed, and are highly to be valued for their accuracy.  
They are now extremely scarce.
- xl. Paradise Lost, 4to. Dublin, 1747.
- xli. The same, "printed on Irish Paper," 8vo. Dublin,  
1748.
- xlii. Samson, Poems upon several occasions, and Comus,  
8vo. Dublin, 1748.
- xliii. Paradise Lost, with Notes of Various Authors, by  
Dr. Newton, in 2 vols. 4to. Lond. 1749.
- xliv. Paradise Lost, Book the first. 4to. Glasgow, 1750.  
With Notes: in which "are illustrated the various allu-  
sions to ancient mythology, sacred and profane, which are

- so frequent in the first book of this divine poem. Many passages too of the ancient poets are there remarked, of which Milton has so admirably availed himself, or, to say it more properly, which he has so thoroughly made his own." *Advertisement*. This excellent publication has been attributed by some to Dr. Gillies, by others (more justly) to Mr. Callander. See the Preface to this edition.
- XLV. *Paradise Lost*, in twelve books. 8vo. Glasgow, 1750.
- XLVI. *Paradise Lost*, 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1750. Newton's edition.
- XLVII. *Paradise Lost*, in 2 vols. small 8vo. With Notes. By John Marchant, Gent. Lond. 1751.
- XLVIII. *Paradise Lost*, in 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin, printed for J. Exshaw. With Newton's Variorum Notes. 1751.
- XLIX. *Paradise Regained*, *Samson*, and the *Smaller Poems*, with Notes of Various Authors, by Dr. Newton, in one vol. 4to. Lond. 1752.
- L. *The Poetical Works*, 2 vols. 8vo. Dublin. 1752.
- LI. The same, in 2 vols. 8vo. With a Glossary. Edinburgh. 1752.
- LII. *Paradise Regained*. With the other *Poetical Works*. [smaller Poems.] Compared with the best editions, and revised by John Hawkey, editor of the *Latin Classics*. 8vo. Dubl. 1752.
- LIII. The same, 18mo. Glasgow, 1752.
- LIV. *The Poetical Works*, 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1753.
- LV. *The Poetical Works*, by Dr. Newton, in 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1753.
- LVI. The same, in 3 vols. 4to. 1754.
- LVII. *The Poetical Works*, in 2 vols. small 8vo. With a *Critique upon Paradise Lost* by Mr. Addison, and a Preface in which are inserted characters of the several pieces: With a Glossary, and the *Life of Milton*. Edinburgh, 1755.
- LVIII. The same, 4 vols. 8vo. 1757. Newton's edit.
- LIX. *The Poetical Works*, in 2 vols. large 8vo. Printed at Birmingham by Baskerville, in 1758.
- LX. The same, by Baskerville, in 2 vols. 4to. 1759.

- LXI. The same, by Baskerville, in 2 vols. 8vo. 1760. It is almost superfluous to say of Baskerville's editions that they are beautifully printed. They are now become scarce.
- LXII. *Paradise Lost*, Lond. Printed for Griffiths, 1760. 12mo.
- LXIII. The Poetical Works, in 2 vols. 12mo. Edinb. 1762.
- LXIV. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 8vo. 1763. Newton's edit.
- LXV. *Paradise Lost*, edited by the famous John Wesley, M. A. and "curtailed of its fair proportion," but with a very good intention, for the following reasons. "Of all the poems which have hitherto appeared in the world, in whatever age or nation, the preference has generally been given, by impartial judges, to Milton's *Paradise Lost*. But this inimitable work, amidst all its beauties, is unintelligible to abundance of readers: The immense learning, which he has every where crowded together, making it quite obscure to persons of a common education.
- "This difficulty, almost insuperable as it appears, I have endeavoured to remove in the following Extract: First, By omitting those lines, which I despaired of explaining to the unlearned, without using abundance of words: And, Secondly, by adding short and easy notes, such as I trust will make the main of this excellent poem clear, and intelligible, to any uneducated person of a tolerable understanding." *To the Reader*. 1763. 12mo.
- LXVI. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1766. Newton's edit.
- LXVII. *Paradise Lost*, with Notes of various Authors, by John Rice, 8vo. Lond. 1766.
- LXVIII. The Poetical Works, in 2 vols. 12mo. Edinb. 1767.
- LXIX. The same, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1770. Newton's edit.
- LXX. *Paradise Lost*, folio. Glasgow. 1770.
- LXXI. *Paradise Lost*, 12mo. Lond. 1770.
- LXXII. *Par. Regained*, Samson, &c. 12mo. Edinb. 1770.
- LXXIII. The Poetical Works, with a Life, and a Glossary, in 2 vols. small 8vo. Edinb. 1772.
- LXXIV. The first six books of *Paradise Lost*, rendered into



grammatical construction: the words of the text being arranged, at the bottom of each page, in the same natural order with the conceptions of the mind; and the ellipsis properly supplied, without any alteration in the diction of the poem. With Notes, &c. By the late James Buchanan, Author of the *British Grammar*, &c. The manuscript was left with Dr. James Robertson, Professor of Hebrew, who has published it for the benefit of Mr. Buchanan's widow. 8vo. Edinburgh. 1773.

LXXXV. *The Poetical Works*, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1773. Newton's edit.

LXXXVI. *The same*, 4 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1773.

LXXXVII. *Par. Regained*, Samson, &c. 12mo. Lond. 1773.

LXXXVIII. *The Poetical Works*, 4 vols. 12mo. Edinb. 1773.

LXXXIX. *Paradise Lost*, and *Paradise Regained*, in 2 vols. small 8vo. with Notes, translated from the French of the learned Raymond de St. Maur: and various critical remarks from Mr. Addison, Dr. Warburton, Dr. Newton, Dr. Pearce, Dr. Bentley, Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Hume. *A new edition*: Lond. 1775.

LXXX. *The same*, 3 vols. 4to. Lond. 1775. Newton's edit.

LXXXI. *The same*, 4 vols. 12mo. London, printed for Bell. 1776.

LXXXII. *Paradise Lost*, 18mo. Glasgow, Foulis. 1776.

LXXXIII. *The same*, 12mo. Lond. 1778.

LXXXIV. *The Poetical Works*, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1778. Newton's edit.

LXXXV. *The Poetical Works*, 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1778.

LXXXVI. *The Poetical Works*, in Johnson's edit. of the *Poets of Gr. Brit.* 3 vols. small 8vo. 1779.

LXXXVII. *The same*, 2 vols. 12mo. Edinb. 1779.

LXXXVIII. *The same*, 3 vols. 18mo. Lond. Printed for Wenman, 1781.

LXXXIX. *Paradise Lost*, 12mo. Lond. 1784.

XC. *Paradise Lost*, 12mo. Lond. 1784.

XCI. *Poems*, &c. viz. *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penferoso*, *Epics*, *Comus*, *Odes*, *Sonnets*, *Miscellanies*, *English*

**Psalms, Elegiarum Liber, Epigrammatum Liber, Silvarum Liber.** With Notes critical and explanatory, and other Illustrations. By Thomas Warton, Fellow of Trinity College, and late Professor of Poetry at Oxford. 8vo. London. 1785.

xcii. The Poetical Works, 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1785.

xciii. *Paradise Regained*, 12mo. Lond. 1785.

xciv. *Paradise Lost*, illustrated with Texts of Scripture, by John Gillies, D. D. One of the Ministers in Glasgow. Small 8vo. Lond. 1788.

xcv. The Poetical Works, 4 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1788. Bell.

xcvi. *Paradise Lost*, 12mo. Lond. Vernor. 1789.

xcvii. The same, 2 vols. 18mo. Lond. 1790.

xcviii. The same, 4 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1790. Newton's.

xcix. Poems, &c. viz. *Lycidas*, [as before] the second edition by Mr. Warton, with many alterations and large additions. 8vo. Lond. 1791.

c. *Paradise Lost*, printed from the first and second editions collated. The original system of orthography restored; the punctuation corrected and extended. With Various Readings: And Notes; chiefly rhythmical. By Capel Lofft, Esq; Book the first. Bury St. Edmund's. 1792. Small quarto, of nearly the same size as the first edition. A learned Preface, and an Appendix, are prefixed to this book. The second Book has been also published.

ci. *Paradise Lost*, 2d edit. by Dr. Gillies, with additions. Small 8vo. Lond. 1793.

cii. *Paradise Regained*, 12mo. Alnwick. 1793.

ciii. The Poetical Works, 2 vols. 12mo. Lond. 1794. Wilkin.

civ. The same, 3 vols. 12mo. with Tonson's Text of 1711, &c. Newton's Notes. 1795.

cv. *Paradise Regained*. With Notes of Various Authors. By Charles Dunster, M.A. 4to. Lond. 1795.

cvi. The Poetical Works, in Dr. Anderson's *British Poets*, royal 8vo Lond. 1795.

**CVII.** The same, in Cooke's Select British Poets, with a Life of Milton, and Mr. Addison's Criticism on the Par. Lost, 4 vols. 12mo. 1795.

**CVIII.** The same, in 2 vols. 8vo. elegantly printed by Bensley. Lond. 1796.

**CIX.** Par. Regained, Samson, and the Smaller Poems, with select Notes from Dr. Newton's, and Mr. Dunster's editions. Lond. 8vo. 1797.

**CX.** The Poetical Works, with an excellent Life of the Author, by William Hayley, Esq. In three folio volumes. Boydel and Nicol. 1794—1797. This magnificent edition does honour to the taste and abilities of those who were engaged in the production of it. It displays every elegance of typographical execution; and is accompanied with most beautiful Engravings from the designs of Westall. It is a monument indeed worthy of HIM, whose works entitle him to that supereminence among the poets of his country, which he has so happily assigned to his own glorious "Isle" among the "sea-girl" domains of Neptune, in his *Comus*, ver. 28.

"THE GREATEST AND THE BEST of all the main."

**CXI.** *Comus*, A Mask, &c. With Notes critical and explanatory by various commentators, and with preliminary illustrations. To which is added a copy of the Mask from a Manuscript belonging to his Grace the Duke of Bridgewater. By the editor of these volumes. 8vo. Canterbury, 1798.

**CXII.** *Comus*, A Mask, &c. To which are added L'Allegro and Il Penseroso, and Mr. Warton's Account of the Origin of *Comus*, [and the Account of Ludlow Castle, with some criticisms on the poem, taken from the preceding edition.] Lond. small 8vo. 1799.

**CXIII.** *Paradise Lost*, beautifully printed, with plates by Richter, 4to. Lond. 1799.

**CXIV.** *Paradise Lost*, to which is prefixed the celebrated Critique by Samuel Johnson, LL.D. with a Sketch of the Life and Writings of Milton, by the Rev. John Evans, A.M. And with Engravings, royal 8vo. Lond. 1799.

- CXV.** The Poetical Works, in 4 vols. With a Critical Essay, by J. Aikin, M. D. small 8vo. Lond. 1801.
- CXVI.** The Poetical Works, in 6 vols. With the principal Notes of various commentators. To which are added Illustrations, with some account of the Life of Milton, by the Rev. Henry J. Todd, M. A. (the present editor.) 8vo. Lond. 1801.
- CXVII.** Paradise Lost, 2 vols. 8vo. beautifully printed by Bensley, and embellished with fine engravings. Duroveray. Lond. 1802.
- CXVIII.** Paradise Lost, 8vo. with Heptinstall's plates. Vernor, &c. Lond. 1802.
- CXIX.** The same, in one vol. 18mo. Mawman, &c. 1804.
- CXX.** Paradise Lost. Illustrated with Texts of Scripture, by Dr. Gillies, 3d edition, 12mo. Mawman, &c. 1804.
- CXXI.** Paradise Lost, 8vo. Vernor, &c. Lond. 1804.
- CXXII.** Paradise Lost, 12mo. Lond. 1805.
- CXXIII.** Poetical Works, (in Johnson's edition of the British Poets,) with new Biographical and Critical Matter, by J. Aikin, M. D. 3 vols. 8vo. Kearley. Lond. 1805.
- CXXIV.** The same, in 3 vols. 18mo. Kearley. Lond. 1805.
- CXXV.** Poetical Works, by Thomas Park, 4 vols. 18mo. with beautiful engravings. Sharpe. Lond. 1805.
- CXXVI.** The same, in 2 vols. 32mo. Suttaby. Lond. 1806.
- CXXVII.** Poetical Works, (in Johnson's edition of the British Poets,) 4 vols. 24mo. Bagster, &c. Lond. 1807.
- CXXVIII.** Paradise Lost, with Johnson's Critique and Life of Milton, 12mo. Lond. Tegg. 1807.
- CXXIX.** Paradise Lost, with a Life of the Author, handsomely printed in post 8vo. with many fine plates. Vernor, &c. Lond. 1808.
- CXXX.** The same, in one vol. 32mo. Walker, &c. 1808.
- CXXXI.** Poetical Works, with a Critical Essay, by J. Aikin, M. D. and the present editor' text. 4 vols. 8vo. Cadell, 1808.
- CXXXII.** Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, translated into English Verse, with the Originals; and a Fragment of a Commentary on Paradise Lost, by the late William Cowper, Esq. 4to. Johnson. Lond. 1808.

*Greek Translations.*

1. In 1736, the celebrated Richard Dawes published proposals for printing, by subscription, "*Paradisi Amiffi, à cl. Miltoño conscripti, Liber primus, Græcâ versione donatus, unâ cum annotationibus.*" These proposals were accompanied with a specimen, which may be seen in the seventh volume of *The General Dictionary*, p. 587, and in the Preface to his *Miscellanea Critica*, where he explains his reasons for not proceeding in his undertaking, and very ingenuously points out the errors of his own performance. See *Biograph. Brit.* vol. 5. edit. Kippis, p. 20.
- II. *Paradisi Amiffi Liber primus Græcè, cum celebri versione Latinâ Rev. Gulielmi Dobson, Oxoniensis, nuper defuncti.* [Dedicated by the translator, Dr. Stratford, to the then bishop of Derry.] Dublin, 4to. 1770.
- III. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1779, p. 191, the following mention is made of a Greek translation by "Thomas Denny, a literary itinerant, particularly skilled in Greek. Among the Roman poets, Horace and Virgil were his chief favourites, as Homer was of the Greek, whose style he has well imitated in a translation of the first six books of Milton's *Paradise Lost* into Greek; which, with a great number of detached pieces on various subjects, in that and Latin, were preserved by several gentlemen of his acquaintance."
- IV. *Johannis Miltoni Samson Agonistes Græco carmine reditus cum versione Latinâ. A Georgio Henrico Glasse, A. M. Ædis Christi nuper Alumno.* Oxon. 8vo. 1788.
- V. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1791, p. 471, a specimen of a Greek translation, dated Hertford, May 11, 1791. by James Moore, Master of the Grammar School, is offered to the publick; according to which specimen, "I purpose," says Mr. Moore, "publishing Milton's *Paradise Lost.*"

- VI. Milton's Poema, Lycidas, Græcè redditum [à Joanne Plumptre, tunc Canonico Vigornienſi, nunc autem Decano Gloceſt.] 4to. 1797.

*Latin Translations.*

- I. Paradifus Amiſſa, Poema Heroicum, quod à Joanne Miltono Anglo Anglicè ſcriptum in decem libros digeſtum eſt, nunc autem à viris quibuſdam natione eadẽ oriundis in Linguam Romanam transfertur. Liber primus. Imprim. Nov. 18. 1685. 4to. Lond. Impenſis T. Dring, 1686. A dedication to Sir Thomas Mompeſſon is prefixed, ſigned by J. C.
- II. Johannis Miltoni Paradifi Amiſſi Liber primus, ex Anglicanâ linguâ in Latinam converſus. 4to. Cantabrigiæ, 1691. The dedication is ſigned by T. P., who is ſaid to be Thomas Power, of Trin. Coll. Cambridge. He tranſlated into Latin verſe the remaining books, which exiſt in manuſcript. See Peck's Memoirs of Milton, p. 68.
- III. Paraphraſis Poetica in tria Johannis Miltoni, viri clariffimi, Poemata, viz. Paradifum Amiſſum, Paradifum Recuperatum, et Samſonem Agoniſten. Autore Gulielmo Hogæo. 8vo. Lond. 1690. And at Rotterdam, 1699.

From the dedications of this ingenious and learned Scotchman, prefixed to his tranſlations of Lycidas and Comus, we learn that he experienced great diſtreſs. He had publiſhed in 1682 "Paraphraſis in Jobum Poetica;" and afterwards "Satyra Sacra, five Paraphraſis in Eccleſiaſten Poetica." To this publication he has prefixed a poetical account of himſelf. He appears to have been a native of Gowry in Perthſhire, and to have known only miſfortune ſince he came into England. He publiſhed alſo "Liber primus Principis Arcturi (à Rich. Blackmore, Eq. Aur.) Latinè red. 1700," and ſeveral other Latin verſions of Engliſh poems. Of a perſon, who had thus contributed to extend the fame of Milton, theſe few notices may not ſeem improper. I wiſh I could add that his

declining days were comfortable. Part of his sacred poetry has been reprinted in "Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacræ, 2 tom. Edinb. 1739:" of which William Lauder is the editor. Of his Paradise Lost Lauder basely availed himself. See vol. vi. p. 408.

- iv. *Paraphrasis Latina in duo Poemata, (quorum alterum à Miltono, alterum à Clivlando, Anglicè scriptum fuit,) quibus deploratur mors juvenis præclari et eruditi, D. Edwardi King, qui nave, quâ vectabatur, saxo illisâ, in Oceano Hybernico submersus est. Autore Gulielmo Hogæo. London, printed for the author. 4to. 1694.* There is another Latin translation of Lycidas in hexameters, preserved in the Lambeth MSS. No. 841. 8.—I am also possessed of a Latin translation of Lycidas in manuscript.
- v. *Lusus Amatorius; five Musæi Poema &c. Cui aliæ (tres scilicet) accedunt nugæ poeticæ. Authore C. B. & Coll. Di. Jo. Bapt. Soc. The first of these "nugæ poeticæ" is Fragmentum libri quinti Poematis verè Divini quod Paradisus Amissa inscribitur, &c. 4to. Lond. 1694.* Peck was misinformed by Dr. Birch in dating this publication 1699.
- vi. *Comœdia Joannis Miltoni, viri clarissimi, (quæ agebatur in Arce Ludenfi,) paraphrasticè reddita, à Gulielmo Hogæo. 4to. Lond. 1698.*
- vii. *Paradisus Amissa. Poema Anglicè scriptum à Johanne Milton. Nunc autem ex Auctoris exemplari Latinè redditum. Per M. B [old, Aul. Trin. Cantab. Soc.] Liber primus. 8vo. Lond. 1702.* The translator printed two other title-pages: viz. "*Paradisus Amissa. Poema, Latino carmine redditum ex ipso Authore Johanne Milton. Lib. prim. Lond. 1702.*" And "*Paradisus Amissa Miltonia, Lat. carmine reddita. Lib. prim. Operis totius specimen. Lond. 1717*" Reprinted in 4to. 1736.
- viii. Peck relates that, in 1709, he was informed at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, that Dr. William Tilly, a learned fellow of that society, had translated a great part of the

- Paradise Lost into Latin verse. See Mem. of Milton, p. 69.
- ix. Part of the fourth book of Paradise Lost, translated into Latin hexameters, by John Theobald, dedicated to Francis Douce, M. D. 4to. Lond. Printed by B. Milles. [Without date.]
- x. In Doddsley's Publick Register for 1741, p. 85, there is a translation from Il Penseroso into Latin hexameters, signed W. R.; and a second, from the same poem, into elegiacs, by the same person, in p. 86.
- xi. Milioni Paradisus Amissus, 2 vols, 4to. Dr. Trapp's translation. Vol. 1st. 1740, vol. 2d. 1744.
- xii. The beginning of the first book of Paradise Lost translated into Latin hexameters, by Mr. Samuel Say. Poema, 4to. Lond. 1745.
- xiii. The same. by L. de Bonneval, Gent. Mag. 1746, p. 548. The same number of lines is also extracted from the versions of Power, Bold, and Trapp, with the addition of another translation, signed I. C. p. 661.
- xiv. Translations from Comus in the Carmina Quadragesimalia, Oxon. 1748, vol. ii. pp. 25, 73.
- xv. A Latin version of L'Allegro, by Christopher Smart, Poems, p. 181. edit. 4to. 1752.
- xvi. The Ode on May Morning, translated into Latin hexameters, in Doddsley's Museum, vol. i. p. 217.
- xvii. Paradisus Amissus Poema Joannis Milioni, Latine redditum à Gulielmo Dobson, LL. B. Nov. Coll. Oxon, Socio. 2 vols. 4to. 1753. This admirable translation was encouraged by Mr. Benson, who had erected in Westminster Abbey the monument to the poet. Oldys, in his manuscript notes on Langbaine's Dramatick poets, preserved in the British Museum, says that Dobson's reward was to be a thousand pounds when the translation should be finished, with the interest of that sum while he was performing it.
- xviii. Imitata à Milioni L'Allegro Carmina. Dated Lichfield, Nov. 1, 1794. Gent. Mag. vol. 64, p. 1134.



*Italian Translations.*

1. The celebrated Mr. Berkeley, afterwards bishop of Cloyne, had been informed in 1714, that, at Florence, Milton was then translated into Italian verse. See Mem. of bishop Berkeley, 2d edit. p. 54. The younger Richardson had also seen at Florence an Italian translation of *Paradise Lost* in manuscript by the Abbé Salvini, who, in 1715, published an Italian version of Addison's *Cato*. Whether this might be the translation, of which information had been given to Mr. Berkeley; or whether a translation of Milton's other Poems also had been made, cannot now be known. However, see the next article in this list of Italian translations. Wright, in his *Travels through France, Italy, &c.* in 1720, 1721, and 1722, notices Salvini's translation of *Cato*, which, he says, "Mr. Addison himself declared was the best translation he ever saw." And he adds, Salvini "shewed us some parts of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which he had occasionally turned into Italian; and they read admirably well in that harmonious language." *Travels, &c.* vol. ii. p. 425. Salvini's translation has not been published. The learned Abbé was extremely fond of English literature. He thus declares his love, in a letter to a friend, dated Nov. 18. 1713. "Or che pensate? ultimamente mi sono addato all' Inglese, e mi diletta, e mi giova assaissimo. E gl' Inglese, essendo nazione pensativa, inventiva, bizzarra, libera, e franca, io ci trovo ne' loro libri di grande vivacità, e spirito, e la Greca, e l' altre lingue molto mi conferiscono a tenere a mente i loro vocaboli per via d' etimologie, e di similitudini di suoni." *Lettere d' Uomini illustri, Venez.* 4to. 1735, p. 167. It appears that Salvini translated also *The Fair Penitent*, and *Jane Shore*, into Italian. Ibid, p. 322.
11. *Paradiso Perduto*, primo libro, tradotto dal Conte Lorenzo Magalotti MS. See the Catalogue of Shelburne Papers, p. 117. Lot 691. The Conte Magalotti is thus described

in an *Elegy* by Henry Newton, entitled *Nemora Florentina*, 1709.

- " Sed cùm cœlestem referat mirantibus orbem,  
 " Miltonique comes, nobile surgit opus ;  
 " Tum superùm redeunt acies, atque acta deorum ;  
 " Resque simul superùm, verba, modosque legunt."

See *Henrici Newton Epistolæ, Orationes, et Carmina*, 4to. Lucæ, 1710. Carm. p. 31. This Henry Newton was the friend of Lord Somers, and Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Tuscany. Possibly Magalotti's version might be that of which Berkeley had received information.

- III. *Del Paradiso Perduto Poema Inglese di Giovanni Milton*  
 Traduzione di Paolo Rolli. Londra, fol. 1735.
- IV. *Il Paradiso Perduto di Giovanni Milton, tradotto in*  
*Verbo Italiano da Felice Mariottini. With the Life of*  
*Milton, and Mr. Addison's Criticism; to both which, ad-*  
*ditions are subjoined: And with copious annotations. The*  
*first book only.* Lond. 8vo. 1794.
- V. *Il Paradiso Perduto di Giovanni Milton, tradotto in*  
*Verbo Italiano da Felice Mariottini. [The whole Poem, in*  
*two parts.]* Lond. 8vo. 1796.
- VI. Mr. Walker, in his *Hist. Memoir on Italian Tragedy*,  
 1799, p. 229, relates that the learned Antonio Conti, a  
 Venetian nobleman, who, with the assistance of Lord Bo-  
 lingbroke, had made a free version of the whole of Pope's  
 Rape of the Lock, had translated part of Milton's Paradise  
 Lost; which, however, is supposed not to have been pub-  
 lished.
- VII. *Il Como, Favola Boschereccia, trad. da Gaetano Po-*  
*lidori*, 8vo. Lond. 1802.
- VIII. *L'Allegro, trad. da Gaetano Polidori*, 12mo. Lond.  
 1805. [In this and the preceding translation, many pas-  
 sages are presented in their foreign dress with remarkable  
 elegance and felicity; and both strongly evince the ability  
 of Signor Polidori.]
- IX. *Como, Dramma con Maschere di Milton, traduzione*  
*sostenuta ad litteram*, 4to. Par. 1806. [Published with a

French literal translation also of Comus. See the List of French Translations.]

*French Translations.*

- I. Voltaire, in a letter to Horace Walpole, dated 15 July, 1768, says, "I was the first that introduced Shakspeare to the French; *forty years ago* I translated some passages from him, as well as from Milton, Waller, &c. See Hist. Memoirs of Voltaire, Lond. 8vo. 1777, p. 208.
- II. *Le Paradis Perdu*, &c. Avec les remarques de M. Addison. Par Monf. Dupré de St. Maur. In prose. 3 vols. 12mo. Paris, in 1729.
- III. *Le Paradis Perdu*, *Le Par. Reconquis*, *Lycidas*, *Il Penferoso*, et *Cantique sur la fête de Noel*, &c. 3 vols. 12mo. Hag. 1730. To this edition are added *Dissertation Critique* de M. Constantin de Magny, which is thought by some to have been written by the Abbe Pellegrin, and *La Chûte de l'Homme*, poeme François par M. Durand. Several passages are restored in this edition, which in that of Paris had been retrenched.
- IV. Traduction de Milton, Liv. i. ver. 242, &c. i. e. Discours de Satan précipité du haut de Ciel à la vue de l'Enfer. [By Mr. Rungold, a Student in the Jesuits College, at Paris. In French rhymes. Printed in *Poems by J. Whaley, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge*, 8vo. 1745.]
- V. Traduction du *Paradis Perdu*, chargée de Notes. Par Louis Racine, en 3 vols. 8vo. "Elle est, en quelques endroits, plus fidele que celle de M. Dupré de St Maur; mais on n'y sent point, comme dans celle-ci, l'enthousiasme de l'Homère Anglois." Vid. *Nouv. Dict. Hist. à Caen, Racine*, (Louis.)
- VI. *L'Allegro* et *Le Penferoso* de Milton. Traduit en vers François. Par Ribouville. 4to. Lond. 1766.
- VII. M. de Beaulaton a fait paroître, en 1777 et 1778, une traduction en vers François de *Paradis Perdu*, laquelle offre

des beautés et des défauts. See Nouv. Dict. Hist. à Caen, *Milton*, (Jean.)

viii. Le Paradis Perdu, &c. de St. Maur's edit. 3 vols. 18mo. Geneve, 1777.

ix. Le Même, 3 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1782. To this edition, besides the Lettres Critiques sur le Paradis Perdu, et sur le Paradis Reconquis, are added several Notes on the text.

x. Le Pere de Mareuil, Jésuite, a donné une traduction Française, in 12mo. de Paradis Reconquis. See Nouv. Dict. à Caen, *Milton*, (Jean.)

xi. Le Paradis Perdu, &c. 2 vols, large quarto, with fine engravings. A magnificent edition. Printed at Paris. 1792.

xii. Paradis Perdu, trad. par M. Monneron.

xiii. Les Amours Épiques, &c. [That is, translations of Episodes on Love, composed by the best epick poets. Accordingly part of Milton's fourth book of Paradise Lost is here *very curiously done into French*] Trad. par P. Grandmaison, 12mo. 1804.

xiv. Paradis Perdu, trad. per Jacques de Lille, Paris & Lond. 1805.

xv. Comus, Masque de Milton, traduction littérale, 4to. Par. 1806. [This and the Italian translation of Comus in 1806 are stated in a preface by the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Egerton to have been made by two persons, whom he engaged in this employment, "dont les talens littéraires sont connus."]

### *Dutch and German Translations.*

i. Jo. Miltons verlustigte Paradies, &c. 8vo. Zerbft. 1682. [Of this book Vogt gives the following account: "Liber summè quidè rarus, at immeritò, cùm versio sit insulsa. Causa raritatis procul dubio exindè derivanda, quia autor Ernst. Gottl. vom Berge propriis sumptibus excudendum curavit." *Catal. Lib. Rar.* ed Hamb. 1747, p. 467.

ii. Milton Paradys Valooren, 4to. Harl., 1728. In Dutch blank verse. This is presumed to be the translation by Mr. Theodore Haake, R. S. S., which, Aubrey says, was highly approved by Fabricius.

- III. *Het Paradyt Verlooren. Geschiedt na't Engelsch Hel-  
dendicht van John Milton, door L. P. 8vo. Amsteldam,  
1730: [In rhyme; with a few notes, and a life of  
Milton.]*
- IV. *Jo. Miltons Verlust des Pardieses, &c. 8vo. Franck. fund  
Leipzig, 1732.*
- V. *Milton's wiedereroberies Paradies, 8vo. Basil, 1752.*
- VI. ——— *verlohrnes Paradies, von Zacharia, 2 bande, 8vo.  
Altona, 1762.*
- VII. *Dasselbe, von Bodmer. Zurich, 1769.*
- VIII. *Dasselbe, von Bodmer, 2 bande, 8vo. Zurich, 1780.*  
This excellent German poet has also given a critical ana-  
lysis of the Paradise Lost. Of the high esteem, in which  
the poetry of Milton was held by Bodmer, and also by  
Klopstock, see proofs in "Caracteres des poëtes les plus  
distingués de l'Allemagne. Par M. Pfenninguer. Zurich,  
1789."
- IX. *Milton's Allegro und Penseroso, 8vo. Enriched with  
beautiful head and tail-pieces. Germ. and Eng. Manheim,  
1782.*
- X. ——— *wiedereroberies Paradies, nebst seinem leben,  
auch dramat. und seinen neuern Gedichten. 8vo. Dessau,  
1782.*
- XI. ——— *verl. Paradies, übers. v. Bürde, 2 Thle, 8vo.  
Berlin, 1793.*

*Spanish Translation.*

1. In *Los Eruditos a la Violeta* by Don Joseph Vasques,  
published in 1772, part of the first book of Paradise Lost  
is quoted and translated. See the Appendix to Twiss's  
Travels through Portugal and Spain.

*Portuguese Translations.*

1. *Paraíso perdido, poema heroico de J. Milton, traduzido  
em vulgar pelo P. José Amaro da Silva, Presbitero Vima-  
rense. Com o Paraíso restaurado do mesmo author.  
(With short Notes, and Mr. Addison's Criticism.) Em  
Lisboa, 2 vols. 8vo. 1792.*

*Russian Translation.*

- i. Storch, in his *Picture of Petersburg*, mentions a Russian translation of *Paradise Lost*.

*English Translations.*

- i. The Epigram on Salmasius, by Mr. Waddington, 1692.
- ii. The Verses to Christina, in Toland's *Life of Milton*, 1698. They are ascribed to Fleetwood Shephard in a worthless book, entitled *Chorus Poetarum*, 8vo. 1684. They have lately been translated also in the *Monthly Magazine*.
- iii. Milton's Italian Poems, translated and addressed to a Gentleman of Italy. By Dr. J. Langhorne, 4to. 1776.
- iv. Some of the Italian Sonnets and the Canzone, have also appeared, either translated or freely paraphrased, in Aaron Hill's Works, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Lady's Magazine*, the *Annual Register*, Fawkes and Woty's *Poetical Calendar*, the edition of the Poets in 1779, and in the *Monthly Magazine* by Capel Lofft Esq.
- v. *Manfo*; from the Latin of Milton; in *English heroicks*. In Poems by the Rev. Joseph Sterling, Lond. 8vo. 1789.
- vi. *Nature not liable to decay*. From Milton's Latin Poem, by the Rev Henry Boyd. *Poet. Regist.* for 1805, p. 32.
- vii. Many spirited and elegant translations from the Latin poems, by the Rev. Dr. Symmons, in his *Life of Milton*, 1806.
- viii. Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, translated into English verse, &c. By the late William Cowper Esq. With a Preface by the Editor, [William Hayley, Esq.] 4to. Chichester, 1808. Several admirable translations from these Poems of Milton by Cowper, had appeared in Mr. Hayley's *Life of the great poet*, in 1794.

*Alterations of Milton.*

- i. *The State of Innocence, or the Fall of Man*. An opera, in rhyme, by Dryden. 4to. 1674

- II. Milton's *Paradise Lost* imitated in rhyme. In the fourth, sixth, and ninth books; containing *The Primitive Loves*, *The Battle of the Angels*, *The Fall of Man*. By Mr. John Hopkins. Lond. 8vo. 1699. This rhymist opens his Preface thus: "It has been the misfortune of *one of my name* to affront the sacred prose of David with intolerable rhyme; and 'tis mine, I fear, to have abus'd almost as sacred verse!"—I am clearly of opinion, from a perusal of these rhymes, that John Hopkins is a true descendant of the *original John Hopkins*, and the worthy heir of his poetical fame. He was partly induced to *put Milton into rhyme*, according to his intimation in the Preface, in order to *oblige the ladies*!
- III. A Paraphrase in verse, on part of the first book of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, by W. Howard. 4to. London. Printed for the author, 1738. The title-page was varied. For the author, an aged and infirm man, in order to relieve his wants, circulated his paraphrase by printing on every title-page an address to some distinguished person. My copy is inscribed to the Dutchess of Bolton.
- IV. *Comus*, a Mask. Now adapted to the Stage. As altered from Milton's Mask. By Dr. Dalton. Lond. 12mo. 1735. This judicious and elegant alteration has been often reprinted, both in 12mo. and in 8vo. It was received with the highest applause on its first representation. The Songs were set to musick by Dr. Arne.
- V. *Sabrina*, an Opera, Ital. and Eng. (the basis of which is professed to be the Mask of *Comus*) by Paul Rolli, 12mo. Lond. 1737.
- VI. *Le Paradis Terrestre*. Imité de Milton. Divertissement spirituel en un Acte. Exécuté par l'Academie de Musique de Poitiers, le 23 de Mars 1736. See *Oeuvres Mêlées* de M. l'Abbé Nadal, Paris. 1738.
- VII. *L' Allegro* and *Il Penferoso*, with a third part, entitled *Moderation*, adapted to Handel's Musick, 1739.
- VIII. *Par. Lost*, attempted in rhyme, Book 1. 8vo. Lond. 1740. By A. Jackson, Bookseller in Clare-Court, Drury Lane.

- ix. *Samson*, altered, with the admission of many passages from Milton's early poems, and adapted to Handel's *Musick*, 1742.
- x. *The State of Innocence, and Fall of Man: Described in Milton's Par. Lost. Render'd into prose. With Notes &c. From the French of Raymond de St. Maur. By a Gentleman of Oxford.* Lond. Printed for Osborne, 1745. 8vo. Mr. Steevens ridicules Osborne for this publication, as being ignorant in what form or language our *Paradise Lost* was written. *Shakspeare*, vol. i. p. 72. edit. 1793.
- xi. *Le Paradis Terrestre. Poeme Imité de Milton, en vi chants. Par Madame du Bocage.* 8vo. Lond. 1748.
- xii. *There is, in French also, La Christiade ou Le Paradis Reconquis, pour servir de suite au Paradis Perdu de Milton. With a large Discours Preliminaire. In six volumes, à Bruxelles, (or rather at Paris,) 1753.*
- xiii. *A New Version of Paradise Lost, &c. In which the measure and versification are corrected and harmonised; the obscurities elucidated; and the faults, which the author stands accused of by Addison and other of the criticks, are removed. With annotations on the original text, to shew the reasonableness of this new Version!! By a Gentleman of Oxford.* 8vo. 1756. The name of this doughty reformer, shrouding himself under a fictitious title, was *Green*. See *Farmer's Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare*, 3d. edit. p. 27. Of this *New Version* only the first book appeared. The performance indeed is a most striking example of vanity and absurdity united.
- xiv. *Tanevot*, a learned Frenchman, has been supposed to be indebted to Milton in his tragedy of *Adam and Eve*, which is published with his other works in 1765. See *Nouv. Dict. Hist. à Caen. Tanevot, (Alexandre.)*
- xv. *The Recovery of Man, or Milton's Paradise Regained, in Prose. After the manner of the Archbishop of Cambray, author of Telemachus. To which is prefixed the life of the Author.* 12mo. s. l. 1771.



- xvi. *Comus*, A Mask. Altered from Milton. By George Colman, Esq. 8vo. 1772. This alteration also has been frequently reprinted, and is the *Comus* which now preserves its place upon the Stage.
- xvii. *Adam, or the Fatal Disobedience*. An Oratorio. In Poems of R. Jago. Lond. 1784.
- xviii. *Le Paradis Reconquis: Poème, imité de Milton, par L. R. Lafaye, Gradué en l'Université de Paris Maître de Langue Française, en vi chants*. 12mo. Lond. 1789.

*Detached Pieces of Criticism relating to Milton, his editors, &c.*

- i. *Annotations on Milton's Paradise Lost*. Wherein the texts of Sacred Writ, relating to the Poem, are quoted; the parallel places and imitations of the most excellent Homer, and Virgil, cited and compared; all the obscure parts render'd in phrases more familiar; the old and obsolete words, with their Originals, explain'd and made easie to the English reader. By P[atr]ick H[ume]. Φιλοποιήτης. Lond. Fol. 1695. [Usually, but not always, subjoined to Tonson's edit. of 1695.]
- ii. *Milton's Sublimity asserted*, Lond. 8vo. 1709.
- iii. *Addison's Criticism on the Paradise Lost*, [Separately printed.] 12mo. London. Printed for Tonson, 1719.
- iv. *Voltaire's Essay on the epick poetry of the European nations, from Homer down to Milton*, Lond. 8vo. 1727.
- v. *Remarks upon M. Voltaire's Essay on the epick poetry of the European nations*. By Paul Rolli. Lond. 8vo. 1728. [This writer is the translator of *Paradise Lost* into Italian verse. He defends Milton, with considerable acuteness, against several of Voltaire's preposterous criticisms.]
- vi. *Differtation Critique sur le Paradis Perdu Poème Heroïque de Milton, par M. Constantin de Magny, &c.* 12mo. Par. 1729. [See the preceding List of French Translations, No. III.]
- vii. *Dr. Bentley's Emendations on the twelve books of Milton's Paradise Lost*, 12mo. Lond. 1792.

- VIII. Milton restor'd, and Bentley depos'd. Containing i. Some observations on Dr. Bentley's Preface. ii. His various readings and notes on *Paradise Lost*, and Milton's text, set in opposite columns, with remarks thereon. iii. *Paradise Lost*, attempted in rime, Book the first, addressed to Dr. Bentley, from Dean Swift. Numb. 1. Lond. 8vo. 1732. [The pretended address to Bentley from Dean Swift is printed in the second volume of this edition, p. 281, where a further account of this pamphlet is given. The address is borrowed from Swift's *Advice to a Young Poet*.]
- IX. A friendly Letter to Dr. Bentley. Occasion'd by his new edition of *Paradise Lost*. By a Gentleman of Christ-Church College, Oxon. Lond. 8vo. 1732. [The author said to be Dr. Pearce.]
- X. A Review of the Text of the twelve books of *Par. Lost*, in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's emendations are consider'd, &c. [First printed in separate parts.] Lond. 1732. [Complete.] Lond. 8vo. 1733. [By Dr. Pearce.]
- XI. Critical Dissertation on *Paradise Regained*, by the Rev. Mr. Meadowcourt, Prebendary of Worcester: Lond. 4to. 1732. Reprinted in 8vo. 1748.
- XII. Explanatory Notes and Remarks on *Paradise Lost*. By J. Richardson, Father and Son. With the Life of the Author, and a Discourse on the Poem. By J. R. Sen. Lond. 8vo. 1734.
- XIII. Remarks on Spenser's Poems, and on Milton, Lond. 8vo. 1734. [By Dr. Jortin.]
- XIV. Remarks on the three first books of *Par. Lost*, by Mr. Warburton, in the Works of the Learned, 1739, &c.
- XV. Letters concerning Poetical Translations, and Virgil's and Milton's Arts of Verse, &c. Lond. 8vo. 1739. [By William Benson, Esq.]
- XVI. Explanatory and Critical Notes on divers passages of Milton and Shakspeare, with an examination of Milton's stile, by Francis Peck, M. A. Printed with his "New Memoirs of the Life &c. of Milton." 4to. 1740.

- xvii. Essay on Milton's imitation of the Ancients, 8vo. 1741.
- xviii. A complete Commentary, with etymological, explanatory, critical, and classical Notes on Par. Lost. By James Paterfon, M.A., and Philologist. Lond. 8vo. 1744.
- xix. Essay on the Numbers of Par. Lost. By Mr. Samuel Say. Printed with his Poems, 4to. 1745.
- xx. Lauder's Attack against Milton, in the Gentleman's Magazine for January 1746-7, &c.
- xxi. Zoilomastix: or a Vindication of Milton from all the invidious charges of Mr. William Lauder. With some new Remarks on Paradise Lost. By R. Richardson, B. A. late of Clare-Hall, Cambridge. 8vo. 1747.
- xxii. Furios: or a modest Attempt towards an history of the life and surprising exploits of the famous W[illiam] L[auder], Critick and Thief-Catcher, 8vo. 1748. [Said to be written by Mr. Henderson, a bookseller.]
- xxiii. An Essay on Milton's use and imitation of the Moderns, in his Par. Lost. By William Lauder Lond. 8vo. 1750. [With a Preface by Dr. Johnson.]
- xxiv. Pandæmonium: Or a New infernal Expedition, inscribed to a Being who calls himself William Lauder, 4to. 1750.
- xxv. Milton vindicated from the Charge of Plagiarism, brought against him by Mr. Lauder, and Lauder himself convicted of several Forgeries and Impositions on the Publick. By John Douglas, M. A. Rector of Eton Constantine, Salop. [Late Lord Bishop of Salisbury.] 8vo. 1750.
- xxvi. The Preface to the Sea-Piece, a Poem, [containing a defence of Milton against Lauder.] By J. Kirkpatrick, M.D. 8vo. Lond. 1750.
- xxvii. Criticism on Samson Agonistes, in the Rambler, No. 139, 140. [Dr. Johnson.] 1750.
- xxviii. Criticism on the Verification of Milton, in The same, No. 86, &c.

- xxix. A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Douglas, occasioned by his Vindication of Milton, &c. By William Lauder, A.M. 4to. 1751. [Written by Dr. Johnson.]
- xxx. An Apology for Mr. Lauder. In a Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. 8vo. 1751.
- xxxi. Criticism on Blemishes in the *Paradise Lost*, in *The Adventurer*, No. 101. [Dr. J. Warton.] 1752.
- xxxii. King Charles I. vindicated from the charge of Plagiarism, brought against him by Milton, and Milton himself convicted of Forgery, and a gross Imposition on the Publick, &c. By W. Lauder, 8vo. 1754. [Of this impudent pamphlet, the title of which is a parody on Mr. Douglas's Vindication of Milton, see an account in *The Inquiry into the Origin of Par. Lost*, in the second volume of this edition.]
- xxxiii. Milton no Plagiary: or A Detection of the Forgeries contained in Lauder's Essay &c. By J. Douglas, &c. [As before, 2d edit. enlarged.] 8vo. 1756.
- xxxiv. Remarks upon *Paradise Lost*, historical, geographical, philological, critical, and explanatory. By W. Massey. 12mo. 1761.
- xxxv. Il Taffo, a Dialogue: the Speakers John Milton, and Torquato Taffo. In which new light is thrown on their poetical and moral characters. 8vo. 1761.
- xxxvi. A familiar Explanation of the Poetical Works of Milton. To which is prefixed Mr. Addison's Criticism on *Par. Lost*. With a Preface. By the Rev. Mr. Dodd. Lond. 12mo. 1762.
- xxxvii. A Letter concerning Epick Poems, taken from Scripture History, 8vo. Lond. 1764.
- xxxviii. Essays on Various Subjects of Taste and Criticism, 8vo. Lond. 1780. [In which is a Critique on the first book of *Paradise Lost*,]
- xxxix. Prefaces Biographical and Critical to the works of the most eminent English poets, by Dr. Johnson. 1781.
- xl. Criticism on *Paradise Lost*, by Dr. Blair, in his *Lectures on Rhetorick*, &c. 4to. 1783.
- xli. Criticism on *Samson Agonistes*, in refutation of the

- censures of Dr. Johnson, by Mr. Cumberland, in *The Observer*, 8vo. 1784.
- XLII. A Letter to the Rev. Mr. T. Warton, on his late Edition of Milton's Juvenile Poems. [Said to be written by Samuel Derby, M.A. Rector of Whatfield in Suffolk.] Lond. 8vo. 1785.
- XLIII. Critical Essay on Lycidas, By John Scott, Esq. Printed with his "Critical Essays on some of the Poems of several English poets." Lond. 8vo. 1785.
- XLIV. Elements of Punctuation, containing Remarks on an Essay on Punctuation, and Critical Observations on some passages in Milton. By David Steel, junior. 12mo. Lond. 1786.
- XLV. Imitations and accidental Resemblances of Milton, by T. H. W. (Thomas Holt White) Gent. Mag. 1786, 1787.
- XLVI. Miscellaneous Remarks on Milton, by T. C. O. [the late ingenious and amiable Mr. Headley of Trinity College, Oxford.] Gent. Mag. 1786, 1787.
- XLVII. Criticism on Samson Agonistes, in refutation of the censures of Dr. Johnson. [By the late W. J. Mickle, Esq.] Europ. Mag. 1788.
- XLVIII. Curfory Remarks on some of the ancient English poets, particularly Milton. [By Philip Neve, Esq.] 8vo. 1789.
- XLIX. Remarks on the Greek Verses of Milton, by Dr. Charles Burney, 1790.
- L. Conjectures on the Origin of Paradise Lost, by William Hayley, Esq. Printed in his 2d edit. of the Life of Milton, 4to. 1796.
- LI. The Similies of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, examined and compared, by J. A. Monthly Mag. 1796, 1797, 1798.
- LII. On Milton's Imitations, or Resemblances, in Par. Lost, by the Rev. G. Wakefield. Monthly Mag. 1797, 1798.
- LIII. Preliminary Observations on Samson Agonistes, as adapted to the Stage, in Critical, Poetical, and Dramatick Works, by John Penn, Esq. 8vo. Lond. 1798.
- LIV. Thoughts on the Origin of Paradise Lost. By Joseph

Cooper Walker, Esq. Printed with his "Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy." 4to. 1799.

Lv. Considerations on Milton's early reading, and the *prima stamina* of his *Par. Lost*; together with Extracts from a poet of the sixteenth century, [Joshua Sylvester.] In a Letter to William Falconer, M.D., from Charles Dunster, M.A. 8vo. Lond. 1800.

Lvi. Criticism on *Paradise Lost*, by Mr. Barron, in his Lectures on *Belles Lettres*, &c. 8vo. Lond. 1806.

Lvii. Fragment of a Commentary on *Paradise Lost*, by the late William Cowper, Esq. [Subjoined to the Latin and Italian Poems of Milton, translated into English Verse by Cowper, accompanied with a Preface by Mr. Hayley, and Notes of Various Authors.] 4to. Chichester. 1808.



**VERBAL INDEX**

**TO THE**

**POETRY OF MILTON.**





## VERBAL INDEX.

THE FOLLOWING INDEX will be found applicable to every edition of Milton's Poetical Works, whether published as an entire or partial collection; the circumstance which respects *only the first edition* of *Paradise Lost*, its appearance in *ten* books and the subsequent division of those ten into *twelve*, being remembered.

The explanation of the letters and figures used in this Index is as follows. The figures i, ii, iii, &c. refer to the respective *books* of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. The figures 1, 2, 3, &c. refer to the *lines* of each book, or of each poem, according to their several descriptions. The letters thus.

### THE ENGLISH POEMS.

P. L.	signify	——	<i>Paradise Lost.</i>
P. R.			<i>Paradise Regained.</i>
S. A.			<i>Samson Agonistes.</i>
Lyc.			<i>Lycidas.</i>
L'Al.			<i>L'Allegro.</i>
Il Pensf.			<i>Il Penseroso.</i>
Arc.			<i>Arcades.</i>
Com.			<i>Comus.</i>
Son. i, ii. &c.			<i>Sonnets.</i>
Od. Nat.			<i>Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity.</i>
Od. Passf.			<i>Ode on the Passion.</i>
Od. Cir.			<i>Ode on the Circumcision.</i>
Od. D. F. I.			<i>Ode on the Death of a Fair Infant.</i>

## VERBAL INDEX.

<i>Od. on Time, signify</i>	<i>Ode on Time.</i>
<i>Od. Sol. Musf.</i>	<i>Ode at a Solemn Musick.</i>
<i>Ep. M. Win.</i>	<i>Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester.</i>
<i>Od. May-M.</i>	<i>Ode or Song on May-Morning.</i>
<i>Vac. Ex.</i>	<i>Verses at a Vacation Exercise.</i>
<i>Ep. W. Sh.</i>	<i>Epitaph on W. Shakspeare.</i>
<i>Ep. Hobf. I, II.</i>	<i>The two Epitaphs on Hobson.</i>
<i>Forc. of Con.</i>	<i>On the new Forcers of Conscience, &amp;c.</i>
<i>Od. Hor.</i>	<i>Fifth Ode of Horace translated.</i>
<i>Brut.</i>	<i>Brutus, &amp;c. Translated from Geoffry of Monmouth.</i>
<i>Dante, I, II.</i>	<i>Translations of Dante.</i>
<i>Ariost.</i>	<i>Translation of Ariosto.</i>
<i>Hor. I, II, III.</i>	<i>Other Translations of Horace.</i>
<i>Eurip.</i>	<i>Translation of Euripides.</i>
<i>Soph.</i>	<i>Translation of Sophocles.</i>
<i>Sen.</i>	<i>Translation of Seneca.</i>
<i>Pf. i, ii, &amp;c.</i>	<i>Translation of Psalms.</i>

## THE GREEK POEMS.

<i>Pf. cxiv.</i>	<i>Translation of Psalm cxiv.</i>
<i>Phil. ad Reg.</i>	<i>Philosophus ad regem quendam, &amp;c.</i>
<i>In Eff.</i>	<i>In Effigiei Ejus Sculptorem.</i>

## THE LATIN POEMS.

<i>El. i, ii, &amp;c.</i>	<i>Elegiarum Liber.</i>
<i>Add. El. vii.</i>	<i>Additio Elegiæ vii.</i>
<i>Ep. P. B. i, ii, &amp;c.</i>	<i>Epigrammata in Proditionem Bombardicam.</i>
<i>Ep. I. B.</i>	<i>Epigramma in Inventorem Bombardæ.</i>

## VERBAL INDEX.

<i>Ad Leon. i, ii, iii. signify</i>	<i>Epigrammata ad Leonoram Romæ cunentem.</i>
<i>In Salm. H.</i>	<i>In Salmafii Hundredam.</i>
<i>In Salm.</i>	<i>In Salmafium.</i>
<i>In Mor.</i>	<i>In Morum.</i>
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologus de Rustico et Hero.</i>
<i>Ad Chr.</i>	<i>Ad Christinam, Suecorum Reginam.</i>
<i>In Ob. Pr.</i>	<i>In Obitum Procancellarii.</i>
<i>In Quint. Nov.</i>	<i>In Quintum Novembris.</i>
<i>In Ob. Pr. El.</i>	<i>In Obitum Præfulis Eliensis.</i>
<i>Nat. &amp;c.</i>	<i>Naturam non pati senium.</i>
<i>De Id. Pl.</i>	<i>De Ideâ Platonica, &amp;c.</i>
<i>Ad Patr.</i>	<i>Ad Patrem.</i>
<i>Ad Salf.</i>	<i>Ad Salfillum.</i>
<i>Mans.</i>	<i>Mansus.</i>
<i>Epit. Da.</i>	<i>Epitaphium Damonis.</i>
<i>Ad J. Ro.</i>	<i>Ode ad Joannem Rousum.</i>

## THE ITALIAN POEMS.

<i>Son. ii, iii, &amp;c.</i>	<i>Sonnets.</i>
<i>Can.</i>	<i>Canzone.</i>



# A VERBAL INDEX

TO THE

## POETRY OF MILTON.

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